11

THE Conformist's Plea FOR THE Nonconformists.

OR,

A Just and Compassionate Representation OF THE Present State and Condition OF THE NON-CONFORMISTS.

AS TO

I. The Greatness of their Sufferings, with some Relations thereof.
II. Hardness of their Case, as to what is enjoined.
III. Reasonableness of their Proposals of Amendments.
IV. Qualifications, and Worth of their Persons.
V. Peaceableness of their Behaviour.
VI. The Church's Prejudice by their Exclusion, &c.

With an humble Apology for their Publick Preaching, and Suspension of the Penal Laws against them.

By a Beneficed Minister of the Church of England.

Edward Pearse, M.A. Min. of St. Mich. Crooked Lane. Wood ath Oxon. II. 1684.

The Third Edition Corrected and Enlarged by the Author.

With a full Vindication of the Non-Conformists from the foul charge of the Murder of the late King.

LONDON, Printed for *Jonathan Robinson*, at the Golden Lion in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard. 1683.

SION COLLEGE
LIBRARY.

To the Bookſeller.

Mr. Robinſon,

COnceiving it to be a Duty to communicate my Judgment (given privately by Parts, as occaſion hath been offered) of the *Non-Conformiſts*, and their Caſe, and alſo reſolv'd to conceal my Name, which can add no Reputation to them, nor to theſe Papers; I have ſent them to you, before any other Stranger, (and who but a Stranger may be truſted with the Concealment of one he knows not) for two Reaſons. 1. Becauſe one of your Acquaintance, who (not knowing my Deſign) gave me a very good Character of you, as Ingenuous, Honeſt, Candid, a Lover of Goodneſs and good Men, (whether *Conformiſts* or *Non-Conformiſts*) as well without, as within the way of your Trade. 2. Becauſe it is not hard to gueſs at the Bookſeller by his Author, and the Author by his Bookſeller; therefore if you may fall within the compaſs of this Obſervation, you fit me, becauſe you printed the *Conforming Non-conformiſt*, &c. And another, the *Chriſtian Temper*, which Title was taking with me, (a Temper rare among Chriſtians) which I labour after; and if I have not expreſſed it in theſe Sheets, I ſhall take a little pleaſure in them, as the niceſt Reader ſhall in any thing that differs from him. I refer it to you to judg, whether it is like to be profitable or not; for before the publication of Books, your Faculty either are Judges, or find out Judges of them; and the Readers eat, or refuſe, only what you have taſted of before-hand. Reade and judg deliberately, and let me know e're long of your Approbation, by ſeeing it abroad; or your Diſlike, by its ſuppreſſion. And then I have but one Requeſt, that you would give them a private and a decent Burial, for the Author's ſake; who tho he be but a ſimple Man, yet means well, and for his Maſter's ſake: It ſhall no more offend me that you ſtifle, than that if another take the name of them, provided he be *Philagathos*.

To

To the READER.

THe whole Book is to the Reader, yet a short Epistle to him may be necessary.

1. To intreat him to spare his pains in writing against me, who do not begin or maintain a Controversy against him, or against any other; Pacem te quærimus omnes. You may perhaps seek to keep it within the unalterable Constitution, and be so much for Peace, that you would have not one Dissenter in the Land. I am against Dissenters also, we agree so far; but I am against Dissemers within doors, that keep Dissenters out; let us make up the Breach as fast and as strong as we can.

2. To inform him, that I do not look upon the Non-Conformists as the only Men of God, that I am not hired by them, nor speak for them in hopes of Preferment under the Presbyterian Government, to be set up (as some fear). I assure him I never fear it, nor hope for it.

3. To make my self known to him, that I am not a Man in Power to shew the Non-Conformists favour, nor a Man of Fame to serve them by any Testimonial; but that I laboured to nourish some good Dispositions and Qualities.

1. To adore one and the same Spirit in different Gifts, Administrations, and Degrees.

2. To think more highly of others than of my self, not only as they are in Power, but as in real Worth, tho but at the Footstool.

3. Thankfulness to God; and were it in my power to shew it to every one that ever spake a word in season to me, which many of the Non-Conformists have done, when I was ignorant and out of the way, whose Names are in honour with me; and the like I acknowledg, and ever shall, to several that now conform. Time was, when they all spake the same Things, and carried on the same Work; which was the Instruction, Conversion, Consolation, and Edification of Souls; not biting one another, nor grudging at one another. I never heard,

in

in many hundreds of Sermons, diverſities of Opinions, either ſet up by ſome, or pulled down by others. We heard indeed that ſome were Independents, others Presbyterians, and others Epiſcopal, but we heard no ſuch things from Pulpits. I perceive ſome Men think that the Preaching of thoſe days was meer Fanaticiſm, bleſſing the Uſurpation, railing againſt Biſhops, or deifying Calvin *with an Infallibility;* Non ego Lutherum prædico, ſed Chriſtum, *ſaid* Luther. Calvin *was an admirable Man, a great Stranger to them that ſpeak moſt againſt him; but he was preached no further than Chriſt ſpake in him;* Non Calvinum ſed Chriſtum prædicabant.

4. *If I were partial, I wrong my ſelf by partiality; but I ought to be juſt, and by being juſt, I injure no Man. I have heard the Non-Conformiſts vilified, and repreſented according to the Fancies, and Paſſions, or Intereſts of Men. I durſt not but be juſt to them, as to eminent Profeſſors of the Chriſtian Faith, and think that common Chriſtianity hath ſuffered much by their ſilencing and diſparagement. A great part of the World is made to believe, that the Non-Conformiſts are not fit to be employed in the Church, nor truſted by the State. But what they are God knoweth, and the World may know if they pleaſe to conſult their Writings, and to examine their Declaration of their Tenents. They are not to them, that know them, what they are reported by, and to them that know them not. I ſeldom ſee any of them, very ſeldom converſe with them, yet I know them ſufficiently to make me bewail their Condition, and the vaſt damage to thouſands of Souls, not in the out-skirts alone, but very Heart of* England, *by their Excluſion and Suppreſſion; who are both able and willing to promote the everlaſting Intereſt of precious Souls, which are committed in the mean while, in many parts of the Land, to them that neither can nor will. If a Husbandman have more Land than he can Till, much of his Land muſt lie Fallow and yield no profit; if a Husbandman have a great Harveſt, and diſcharge his Labourers, he will ſuffer loſs. It is a ſmall Pariſh indeed that will not find a pretty induſtrious Man work enough: There is enough for us, and for them to do, if there were the greateſt Union of Minds, and wiſeſt diſtributions, according to each Mans Abilities.*

5. *I*

5. *I have ſometimes taken heart to vindicate what may be juſtified in them, out of a juſt reſpect to the Common Faith, and Proteſtant Religion; and there is no more objected, nor worſe things imputed to them by Proteſtants, than Papiſts impute to us all: If I have no courage to plead for them, ſo far as their Cauſe will bear it, I may prove a Coward in mine own Cauſe; Every good Man ought to be true to Truth, and the common Chriſtianity.*

6. *Not to revile nor provoke them that differ from me. If I have deſcribed any Perſons of an impoſing perſecuting temper, with any meaſure of ſeverity: if there be no ſuch Perſons, it is a miſtake, and no injury; if there be ſuch, Writing is Painting, I have fitted my Colours to the Face, I have not repreſented any ſowrneſs of Countenance, but what I ſaw upon it. Let us all entertain Peace, and give it place to rule in our Hearts; ſeek Peace and purſue it, and pray for the Peace of Jeruſalem.* Farewel.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Author hath three more Pleas for the Non-Conformiſts, *which contain,*

Many Arguments and humble Motions (with all due Submiſſion to the Magiſtrates) for the Suſpenſion of the Penal Laws againſt them.

Apologies for their Publick Preaching argued from the King's Declaration concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, grounded on the approved Doctrine, and confirmed by the Authorities of many Biſhops and Doctors of the Church of England.

Several Conſiderations for Union and Chriſtian Forbearance, with ſome Hiſtorical Accounts of ſome of their great Sufferings in divers Places in England: *Together with ſome Account of the infamous Lives and lamentable Deaths of ſome* Informers.

A Juſt, and Compaſſionate Repreſentation of the Preſent Caſe and Condition of the Non-Conformiſts, *&c.*

I Am a Chriſtian, and therefore a Member of the Body; and as ſuch, am obliged by the Law of Chriſt, and excited by his Grace, to endeavour the Growth, Perfection, and Unity of that one Body; and according to the meaſure of Grace and Life received, I cannot but feel the pain of Diſlocations, Wounds, Weakneſs, Exciſion, Sickneſs, or Suffering of any Part or Member of it. If I have any Faith or Love, I cannot but pray for the Peace of *Jeruſalem.*

But Miniſters, above all Chriſtians, muſt have Salt in themſelves, and be at peace one with another: they muſt Preach the Goſpel themſelves, and rejoyce that it is Preached by others, though otherwiſe-minded; and all Chriſtians muſt pray that the Word of the Lord may have a free Courſe, and be glorified, *Phil.* 1. 15, 16, 17, 18. 2 *Theſ.* 3. 1, 2.

I have ſome feeling of the broken State of the Church of God in this Kingdom: but, alas! how little do I feel? how unfit am I to move thoſe that have healing Hands, and ſtore of Ointments, to heal our Wounds? If I could but open the caſe of a Church for many years in pain, to be delivered of her Burthen [*Not two Nations in her Womb, but more than two manner of People in one Nation*] groaning to bring forth Unity and Peace, but cannot: followed long with ſtrong Convulſions, that 'tis a wonder ſhe hath not dyed in every Fit; I might move the Compaſſions of her Phyſitians, to hold a Conſultation to expedite her Cure. Many of her Sons have of late bemoan'd her; and ſome have made Enquiries into the Cauſes of her Illneſs; but their Compaſſions have done themſelves more good than her. She is not at all the better for their trouble for her; ſhe is as ill at eaſe as at any time, in a waſting, complaining, declining State. And to ſay the truth, there are many that make ſad complaints of Harſhneſs and Severity: they ſay that ſome of her chief Officers and Agents procured

the Ejection of many of her faithful Servants out of their Maſters work; that ſome that are put in Truſt, are not kind to her own Children, they lock up the Bread from them, or permit Stewards that do not faithfully diſpence unto them, but ſell their Bread, and put the Money in their own Pockets. And thoſe Stewards hire Under-Officers for ſmall Wages, that feed them but once a day, and commonly with that which coſts them but little. They ſay ſhe is ſo ſtrict, that all that ſerve her, muſt put in Bonds for more than they can pay, and ſubſcribe to Impoſſibilities; and, in ſhort, they ſay, ſhe uſurps Authority over her Husband. They ſay, they can ſerve him, but cannot pleaſe her; they can ſerve him, and die for him, but cannot live in the ſame Houſe with her.

For my part, I will ſay no ill of her, nor make bate between the Bride and the Bridegroom; I am honoured to be a Friend to him, and indeed I cannot be his Friend, and not hers. But this I'll rather ſay, ſhe hath been led, and abuſed by ill Inſtruments about her, and is indeed changed from what ſhe was in former times, and is not ſo kind and tender as ſhe was wont to be, by report of many who knew her heretofore. I am exceeding ſorry for her. O that I could give her eaſe! I am no Phyſitian my ſelf; but a ſorry Meſſenger may run and call the Doctor, and beſeech him, that if he have any Bowels or Tenderneſs of heart, he would make haſte, and apply all his skill to ſave the Life, and reſtore the health of the Mother of many Children, who will fall into the cruel hands of Pope and Devil, ſo ſoon as her eyes are cloſed. O how they long to hear of her Diſſolution! O what a ſick and divided Houſe do I live in! I cannot take reſt in my Soul, for the contentions of my dear and loving Maſter's Wife; Who can lye dry for the continual dropping? My Pilgrimage and Courſe, for theſe many years, hath been moſt uncomfortable unto me for the continual dropping in a rainy day. The Contentions are grown notorious, all our Neighbours know them. 'Tis a moſt divided Houſe! I have no heart to make Repetitions, of what I have read and heard to paſs between my dear Mother and my dear Brethren; between my Brethren amongſt themſelves, and the Fellow-Servants. It is a ſhame that the World ſhould know it! But it cannot be hid: Our very Enemies laugh among themſelves, and hope to turn us all out of Doors, and get poſſeſſion. They have been Diſputing, Stating of Caſes, Petitioning, Pleading, and Appealing to the Judgment-Seat; that my heart akes to think of theſe things. I have prayed for Peace, and have denyed my ſelf to pleaſe my Mother. I will not find fault with her; my Soul longs for Peace, and if I might prevail, I cannot tell what I would do,

do, on condition that her Servants that have been turned out, may be taken in. But because I cannot see how this will be, without an Order of the Justices of Peace, I will humbly represent the Case as truly as I can, and intreat their Order for a speedy settlement of my displaced Brethren. The Complaints are grievous on both sides. The Mother complains of the disobedience of her Children, they will not be ruled by her: she would have them to be all of her Mind and Uniform. She is a Godly Woman indeed, and keeps Prayers Morning and Evening in her House; But she is earnest to have them Assent and Consent to all and every thing contained in a certain Book, and use no other. Some of them do not love to be Impos'd upon, and think they are of those years, as to know how to pray, and plead a Promise from their Master, of his holy Spirit to assist them, in the discharge of any Imposed Form. (But others can submit to that, if that would do) She would have them wear white Linnen, wide Sleeves, *&c.* kneel when they eat and drink at the Lord's Table; and will have all their Children Baptized, signed with a Cross in the Forehead, which if you would see, is not to be seen, for indeed it vanishes as soon as made. For these things she pleads Authority in her Self, and from her Supream Governour upon Earth. Since her Marriage with Kings she is grown wealthy in Estate. The Woman that was sometimes in the Wilderness, drawn before Magistrates, cast into Prison, that was forced to hide her head in Conventicles, in those nights of old (that for many Ages spake a hard Language, wore a Triple Crown, went in gorgeous Apparel of Ceremonies upon Ceremonies, carried in Pomp, (Princes did kiss her feet) that adorn'd her Walls with Tapistry and Images; grew Imperial in making Laws, and gave her mouth to Cursing and Bitterness) I say, she now can shew her face, that was sometimes forced to hide it, and is become Reformed and Chaste; but possessing Lordships and Preferments; she hath been rather like a Domineering Mistriss, than a gentle Mother, and hath rather suted her self to the mode of Earthly Kings, than the Will of her Heavenly King and Husband (as some complain) It cannot be denyed but that some have been ambitious of her Favour, and for the Preferments which they have got by their Ceremoniousness, have done her no good, and to get up above their Fellow-Servants, have set her above her self. And for ought I see, these ambitious covetous Persons have been evil Instruments of great Contentions and Differences with her Children; and they also having a spice of *Adam*'s nature, and growing stomachful, with their Reason, could not bear a Superiority among Equals, and seeing they were Children of the same Father, knew no other dif-

ference than for prudential Government, a Priority of Order, or the Honour of Seniors, but not a Superiority of Degree and Power.

The more powerful House (for, alas! they have divided Houses) that they may make Laws and govern others, do attribute great Authority to the Church; indeed as great as Jesus Christ her King and Husband had: as if when he ascended into Heaven, he gave among his other Gifts, even all that he had himself, to his Church and Spouse. One who professed so much intimacy with her, as to undertake to give her Sense and Reason of her Doings, doth assert her Power and Authority to be twofold; "As all other Bodies "Politick, the one of Jurisdiction to correct "and reform, by Spiritual Censures, to pre- "serve the Churches Purity, and reduce to "Unity the Troublers of the Churches Peace, not by Arguments alone, "but Spiritual Censures, even to casting out of the Church. The "other, a *Power of Legislation*, to make Canons and Constitutions. "For though our great Lord (saith he) hath already given to his "Church most holy and wise Rules and Laws for the same purposes; "yet because they are general, and there *may some Doubts and Controversies* arise about their meaning, it doth necessarily follow, that "there must be an Authority left to this Church, and Governours "thereof, *to make new Laws upon emergent* "occasions, to determine Particularities, (where by the way observe, that from a Power to resolve the Doubts that may arise about the Sense and Meaning of those general Laws of Christ, he gets ground by stealth, even to infer a Power to make *new Laws*) "That there must be a defi- "nitive Sentence of Superiours to decide Doubts and Controversies. "He argues both from the reason of the thing, and that Christ gave "this Power, *John* 20. 21, 22. *As my Father sent Me; so send I you.* "And one particular of Jurisdiction there "expressed; *Whose soever Sins ye bind on* "*Earth, they are bound in Heaven.* The Le- "gislative Power of making Laws and Con- "stitutions for regulating Manners, and de- "termining Controversies, cannot be denyed "to be granted in that large Commission; *As my Father sent me, so* "*send I you, &c.* (Where again observe how he grows upon us, from a Mission to a Commission. They are sent indeed, but their Commis-

Preface before the Collection of Canons, &c.

Interpretation of General Laws, doth not inferr a Power of Legislation.

Absolution is no Jurisdiction, but the Explication and Application of a Law of Grace.

sion

ſion is no other than to go, when ſent, and do whatſoever he commandeth) Yea, in the next ſentence he ſaith, *Our Lord Commiſſions his Apoſtles*, (obſerve, that *pag.* 1.) he defines the one holy Church to be the Society of Believers, to whom that double Power was given; but here it is given to the Apoſtles: (Have the Society of Believers the ſame power the Apoſtles had? Or, doth the Commiſſion given to the Apoſtles, impower the Society of Believers to do as they did?) "He "Commiſſions the Apoſtles (ſaith he) with the ſame neceſſary ſtand-"ing power that he had, and exerciſed as a "man for the good of the Church: this is a "Commiſſion in general for making Laws; "Then in particular, for making Articles, and "Deciſions of Doctrines controverted, the "Power is more expreſs'd, *Math.* 28. *All "Power is given unto me: Go ye therefore and "teach all Nations*; that is, with Authority. "And what it is to teach with Authority, but "to command and obliege all People to receive the Truth ſo taught? When I read ſuch Diſcourſes, and ſuch Conſequences, I do leſs wonder that they who are given to ſtrong Deluſions, do ſee thoſe dazling wonders, in *Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc Petram*; or, that ſee the two Swords committed to St. *Peter*, in *Paſce Oves meas*, when he was only appointed to be a careful Shepherd.

The Power which Chriſt exerciſed, he exerciſed not as (meer) Man, but as Mediator, as a Mediatory King, having a Kingdom.

Others do build their Towers and Caſtles upon other Texts, which I paſs by—— Thus for the ample power of the Church. The Power which Chriſt hath given to her I revere and acknowledge.

Others go another way to work, and lay the ſpecious Towers and Battlements of *Uniformity* and *Diſcipline* and *Ceremonies* upon the Kings Supremacy; affirming two things: 1. That the Modes required, are things indifferent. 2. That the chief Magiſtrate may make Conſtitutions about things indifferent.

And ſome upon one, and ſome upon another ground, do raiſe a great Duſt, Contention, and Diſcontent: ſome quarrel not, but are of a moderate and peaceable diſpoſition, and wiſh for Peace and Concord: but theſe are quarrelled with for their Moderation. And truly it is an ill ſign of an aſpiring contentious nature, in thoſe that will fall out with Peace-makers, that are ſober and moderate, and wiſh that both contending ſides may underſtand one another better, and love one another more, and remove the matter of Debates and Strifes. How are the Ejected called! It grieves my heart to hear them call'd all to nought:

and

and how are these Names returned? And many throw Bones of Contention among them; whisper, and backbite, and carry tales, to foment the heats, which gentle tempers labour to cool.

The other broken Party of the dissatisfied and complaining Family, are not so well agreed as it were to be desired; but they differ more in Accidentals than Substantials from one another. Some of them will consent to an Imposed Form of Prayer, and all to Decency and Order, as necessary in Christian Assemblies; and, in a word, to all that is contained in the General Rules and Laws of Christ, and rationally deduced from them, as far as they do understand. They all submit to an Episcopacy of Primitive Institution and Limitation, with the due exercise of Discipline; and they that cannot agree to the same Form of Government, are for maintaining Peace and Love under different Forms, and they yield enough to have made them Ministers in the Apostles days, and after. They say, 'tis true, that to us there is but one Lawgiver, and that is Christ; and they will teach whatsoever he hath commanded them: They hold that his Laws are sufficient for the Government of the Church; that the Church must be subject to Christ; that her Power, as *Protestant* Writers have maintained, is only ministerial under him; that all Power is seated still in Him, and not made over by Him to any other; that the Churches Power is not decisive, (for *ab effectu* they argue, that Controversies have not been decided, by any that have ingrossed the Name of the Church) but declarative, and so far binding, as the Reasons are cogent and divine. They acknowledge the King's Supremacy, as it hath been declared by former Learned Writers, against the *Romish* Antagonists, and Usurpers of that Sovereign Right: [as by *Nowel* against *Dorman*, *Rainolds* conference with *Hart*, King *James*, and many more] They assert a Liberty which Christ hath given them, and cannot subject themselves, as the Servants of men, in the Things of God.

They offer to assent to all the Essentials of the *Christian Faith*, to observe all the Ordinances of Christ, and every part of his Worship, and Decency and Order in the Worship of God, as was said before; and, in short, do say, *Shew us but what the Apostles Rule was, and we will walk according to it, and, as far as we have attained, be of one Mind.*

But then, they can never yield to declare an unfeigned Assent and Consent to Laws, Rubricks, and Ceremonies, that are significant of any Grace, or obligatory to any Duty of the Covenant of Grace, or to make Ceremonies federal Signs, tho not Seals; nor the Reading the

Apo-

Apocrypha, and neglecting *Canonical Scripture*, and other things, which divers of them have ſpoken of at large, and cannot be repeated in this place. They profeſs, and we may believe them, that they quarrel not becauſe they may not be Lords and Biſhops, or that others are ſo promoted; they declare, it is no grief to them, if the Magiſtrate or Legal Patrons, beſtow the Revenues of the Church upon whom they pleaſe, and are legally qualified according to the Conſtitution. They only beg the uſe of that Liberty of their Conſciences to Preach and Worſhip God according to the Primitive Rule, and Simplicity; and that they may not be Ejected and Excommunicated, and forced to beg their Bread, becauſe they cannot conſent to what *they cannot believe*, nor vow againſt their Duty.

The danger of giving them a Toleration, while they remain *Diſſenters*, is ſtrongly ſuggeſted, from the multiplication of *Papiſts*, *Socinians*, and *Jews*, as the effect of the Toleration in the *Netherlands*.

But two things may be replyed: 1. Widen the Terms, which may be done with ſafety to the Church, and there will be no need of a Toleration, they will be incorporated with us. 2. There can be no ſuch danger from Chriſtians of the ſame Faith, and ſubſtantial Worſhip, but of different accidental Modes, as from *Socinians*, *Papiſts*, *Jews*, of a contrary Faith and Worſhip. And why we cannot be as kind and liberal to Natives, indulging a Liberty to them in ſmall things, as we are to *French*, *Dutch*, and *Lutherans*, I do not know.

I have repreſented the Diviſions of this moſt famous *Church of Chriſt*, not with the exactneſs of a *Hiſtorian*, or a *Moderator*, but as beſt ſuiting with a Man in haſte and trouble. And, here's enough to move the honeſt and faithful Juſtices to arbitrate Differences, and command the Peace. Nothing elſe will do, nor any other Men ſo likely to compoſe the Difference as they. For Prayers innumerable have been made to God; who acts by means in ſettlements of Peace and Order: therefore we muſt pray men too. The different Parties will not agree. The Commiſſioners * diſputed, *and both carryed the Cauſe.* The Ejected humbly petitioned the *Biſhops* for Peace, they would not hear them. And what Arguing, Preaching, Writing hath been ever ſince! Some Reverend Sons of the Church, in love to Peace, and fear of Enemies, have earneſtly called and exhorted the Diſſenting Ejected Brethren to come and unite, to come into the preſent Conſtitution, as ſafeſt, as ſtrongeſt, as beſt, &c. But if they could not come in at the Narrow Door, eighteen years ago,

* *In the* Savoy, *an.* 1662, *commiſſioned by the King.*

and

and the Door as narrow ſtill as it was then, and there be the ſame Croſs-bars laid acroſs, as were then, to keep them out, to what purpoſe is the Exhortation? Is there a great Storm coming? They think that Chriſt is in the ſame Ship, and they are as ſafe as any other. They may clearly plead, they could have conformed at firſt, upon better worldly terms than now; they might have ſaved what they have loſt, and got their ſhare with others: to come now to conform, when all places are full, and not enough for numerous Expectants, and when there is nothing for them without tedious waiting, and if their Judgments and Conſciences could not enter then, how can they now? Unleſs their Heads have voided all their Reaſons, and ſo are grown leſs, or that Cuſtome hath made the Entrance ſmoother for them. Learned and Worthy Men have written for and againſt, and are they gained over to one another? If they are, it is more than they will confeſs. The one writes *the Miſchief of Separation*; the other denies the Charge and Proof; and another throws back the Miſchief, *with a Miſchief of Impoſitions*: and many Swords are drawn by *Seconds*, too many bitter words for the Children of the ſame Heavenly Father, that are called to One, even to the One Hope of their Calling. The one writes, *You are guilty of Schiſm*: and the other ſays, *Who made it?* —— My Bowels, my Bowels! *O thou the Prince of Peace, make Peace in thy own Houſe, Family and Kingdom*; make of theſe twain, One Body, and let there be no *Schiſm* in it: as they are made One Body, in One, the ſame Breaſt-plate of Faith, in the ſame Girdle of Truth; ſo let them be ſhod with the Shoes of the Goſpel of Preparation of Peace, and let not one hinder another to run, but cauſe both to walk in the ſame Path, to put on Charity, and to have the ſame mind that was in thee. ——

Methinks it were but fit for us, who weekly petition our good Lord to *deliver us from all Uncharitableneſs, from all Falſe Doctrine, Hereſie and Schiſm*, out of a Spirit of Love (if the Peace of God rule in our Hearts) upon our Knees to petition our Governours for our Brethrens Enlargement, and reunion with us, that they may not lye under the Cenſures and Reproaches of open Sinners, nor lye under the Imputation of *Schiſm*, and other Suſpitions, and be the ſubject of ſcorn to every *Papiſtical Scribler*, and many other Miſchiefs and Slanders: But there being no hope of that, let every man do his part for healing of the Breaches. And therefore I cannot but ask my Superiours Pardon to handle a tender Point indeed, even to recommend the Caſe of my Reverend Brethren the *Nonconformiſts*, to the good Opinion, and charitable thoughts of them that can help with one Act,

to

to decide what a thousand Volumns cannot. I would not, if possible, be misunderstood; I am for Unity and Conformity, but not such an Uniformity as hinders Unity, by turning the Church into a Party. I am not a partial *Hyper-aspistes*, they can best manage their Cause, as best knowing their own Mind, neither have they been wanting to it; Nor shall I give my Mother, the Church, an unbeseeming word; but yet between the Judicious, Holy and Peaceable part of Fathers and Brethren of it, and the Faction-making Aspiring-Party, I cannot but distinguish. Indeed these call themselves [*the Church*] but by monopolizing the Church, and ingrossing the Goods of the Church, if they could; they have no greater share of the true Spirit of the *Catholick Church*, than their despised Brethren, commonly called *Schismaticks* by them. These are *supra* or *Trans-Conformists*, that keep the Rule of Conformity much as they do their Residence. These Men are *Nonconformists* too, as I could shew in some considerable particulars, and are a *Rubrick* to themselves. But my business is not to accuse them; but seeing the most are *Non-conformists*, either above or under the Rule, (a Rule, if strictly kept at all times, in all Offices, where were a Mans Prudence? and if a Man hath no Prudence to use, or may not use it, he is very unfit to be a Minister in the Church of God) I am for the calling of more *Nonconformists* into the Company, and for making *Nonconformists Conformists*.

Our blessed Saviour, in the Parable, compares himself to an Housholder, going a far Journey, that gave Authority to his Servants, and to every Man his Work, and commanded the Porter to watch; and when he went, he left Peace as a Legacy; *My Peace I leave with you.* But, alas! how few have sought to get and keep that Legacy, or to do their Work? We may with sorrow look into it, and find it, in his absence, a most broken and divided House. In it we shall find two sorts of Children, all by the same Father, but not as if all of a Mother: The Elder and the Greater combine, make a mighty Party, and they even rule the Mother. These have the best of every thing, and snatch what the others had, or should have, and part all as they please among themselves, and use their poor Brethren no better than if they were Bastards. These complain, and entreat, and beg: but if they beg, they are not regarded; if they complain, they are peevish, discontented, and undeserving of better than to be turned out of doors; if a Man pities them, and pleads for them, he is one of them.——— The greater say, These peevish whining Children are disobedient to our Mother, vex her Bowels out, hinder all Government and Uniformi-

ty; if it were not for them, how happy would it be with us! But who can tell, but the great Ones may fall out among themselves? The Ejected have written, pleaded their Cause, drawn up their Case, and petitioned, but to what purpose? To as much as a Man that hath a good Right to a part of an Inheritance, but possessed by an elder Brother, who thinks he can prescribe for all, and plead Possession and Law; besides that, his Freinds being Judges in the Court have given it him: This poor younger Brother has but a weak Purse, few Friends, and what doth he but remonstrate, open his Case to many, and to his elder Brother, with humble Entreaties? But because he doth not go to Plow, or a begging, or go to some Corners of the Land, or to some Forreign Plantation, he is rated as a troublesom Fellow, factious and querulous, and knows not what he would have. Possessors are deaf to Petitioners. He that would recover his Right must go to Law for it, or lose all, except a little Alms, and that must be taken as Pure Kindness, without pretence of Right or desert.

There were a Company of Justices that sate long upon the Bench, and these first made an Order for Ministers to come in Bond to certain Duties, or else they discharge the Parishes of them, and turn them out of doors. Many hundreds refused to give in their Bonds, upon which they were turned out of their Houses and Parishes; and by an after Order, they were not to come within five miles of any Corporation, that sent Burgesses to Parliament, or of their own last Abodes; forbidding them thereby any Employment in Corporations, to get their Livings, or the Charity of their former good Neighbours, if they had any. These and their Familles are up and down the Nation, indeed, no better esteemed, which is a shame to tell, than Vagrants, by too many, yea, unfit to live.

Now forasmuch as they may be very useful, it would be an Act worthy your place, to move the Honourable Bench of Justices, that never liked that rigorous Order, in Mercy and Justice to take the Case of these ejected Ministers to consideration; and by another Order to capacitate them to dwell and labour in any City, Town Corporate, Village, and Parish whatsoever, any thing in any Law or Statute to the contrary not withstanding. I make bold to present these following Particulars to you, with Truth and Charity that you may be so moved towards them.

1. Their Sufferings.
2. The Hardness of their Case.
3. The Reasonableness and Equity of many of their Desires and Proposals.

4. Qua-

4. Qualifications, and worth of their Persons.
5. Their Behaviour.
6. The Conclusion.

I. Their Sufferings. And they admit of various Aggravations, according to their various Circumstances. Some of them were Fellows of Colledges, and not otherwise preferred, in the heat of their Studies; and thereby, together with their Preferments and Livelihoods, lost what could not be recompensed to them; their Opportunities for learned Studies, and their Increase of Abilities, which is an inestimable Lose to any good and studious Man. It was a Trial to ingenious Men, to be turned out of their Fellowships, (their little Regalities) and become Chaplains or Schoolmasters, for ten or twenty Pound *per Annum*. And their is a difference in a Man's Entertainment, when he is courted and invited into a Family, or Employment, and when his Necessity drives him; and his Entertainment looks more like a Courtesie, or a Charity than a Reward.

Others had but a little Time of Settlement in their Country-Preferments, to lay up any thing for themselves and Families. The more conscientious the Ministers are, the more apt to marry young, chusing rather to cast themselves double upon the Providence of God, than sin in a single Life; honest Marriage being honourable, though attended with honest poverity. And the most of their Ejectors, being single Persons, and having eaten the Cream of Preferments in their rising Times, had little consideration towards great and small Families. Indeed as many as had treasured up Faith in God, and his Promises, had enough to hold out their Pilgrimage: But if God was so kind, as to give them Faith to live by, they were unkind, that would force them to that noble kind of Life. If God had given them Grace, care should have been taken to find them Work. But God did not cast them out of their Work, nor out of his Care: He became their Patron whom Men ejected, and presented them, some to Places always vacant, dark, and neglected; and others he preferred from Countrey-Villages, to Towns and Cities. One Instance comes into my Mind, of Mr. *Edward Lawrence* of *Basce-Church* in *Shropshire*, (a worthy Preacher) turned out with a Wife and many Children, who being asked how he did intend to live? Made Answer, *The Sixth Chapter of* Matthew *must maintain me, my Wife and Children, and it is enough for us all*. Or words to this effect; and so he found it true: And being driven out of the Countrey by the Rigors of some Men, his double Ejection, the first, out of his Parish, the second, out of the Countrey, made way for his

Settlement in *London*, whither he was forced. And ſuch Reaſons as theſe may be given, why many of the *Nonconformiſts* reſort to *London*, and other Towns, which is imputed to them by ſome, as a Fault of Ambition, or worſe.

Others, how far ſoever grown in years, and deſirous of Reſt in the Work of Chriſt, muſt out of their quiet Quarters, *colligere Sarcinas*, remove their Beds, and be gone, and ſell their Books. And what many of them have ſuffered ſince, is not my part to aggravate. God hath taken care of many, and given them Food and Rayment, and Work at their Peril and Coſt. And others, beſides the Hardſhips of Impriſonments, Chargeableneſs of many Removes, have lived by their Induſtry, by their Labours, even of their hands, a very hard and pinching Life, as I doubt not, is very well known to many of all Qualities.

As may be ſeen in the Narratives in the laſt Plea.

I know it is objected, that many live better than ever they did; *get Hundreds* per annum, *keep Coaches*, &c.

I anſwer, I do not think there are any *Non-conformiſts* in the Land, but will quit what they *have* for what they had, without ſeeking Conſiderations for Loſſes. 2. If ſome that can graze upon a bare *Common*, have a little Fleſh, and ſome Wool upon their Backs; others have waſted their Patrimonies, and real Eſtates. It is their Wiſdom to ſet the beſt face on't, to ſhew they are not diſcouraged in their Conditions, that they may not appear to beg as they go along, to keep themſelves from Contempt, and other Prudential Conſiderations. 4. I wiſh ſome had better Feet and Legs, than to be carryed in *Coaches*; I am glad they can keep, hire, or borrow, whatever others are.

Others may object the Sufferings of the Royal Party, and many worthy Divines, into whoſe Places many of the now Ejected violently entred.

Anſw. Mercurius Ruſticus ſaith enough to make a Man's Heart bleed. I would not diminiſh thoſe Sufferings, by enlarging theſe; I am ſorry for both, for either: but if I may uſe my Freedom, without Offence to any, in this afflicting Point, I humbly offer: 1. It is probable, that many hundreds now Ejected, were not men in thoſe Evil Days, therefore not guilty. 2. There was a Proviſion of a fifth part for the Wifes of the Ejected then, there is none for theſe. 3. Who can anſwer for the Violences and Injuſtice of Actions in a Civil War? Thoſe Sufferings were in a Time of general Calamity, but theſe were ejected, not only in a time of Peace, but a Time of Joy to all the Land,

Land, and after an Act of Oblivion, when all pretended to be reconciled, and to be made Friends, and to whose common rejoycing these suffering Ministers had contributed their earnest Prayers, and great Endeavours. Many Ministers in the Church are poor, in poor Livings, in poor Curacies, yet are preferred above, or equal to their Merits: many are poor through their Prodigality and superfluous Wigs and Habits. Many Men of Worth are kept low, by reason of Pluralities, and Engrossers that live at ease, that have not a Heart to labour, nor give the Labourers their Hire. These are Grievances that call for Redress.

It is objected, *That they suffer through their own Faults, they suffer for Disobedience to a Law.*

Answ. I do earnestly interrogate, Can either those that Voted for that Bill, or they who used all Power and Art to procure those Votes to pass it into an Act, say from their Consciences? That it was Conscience towards God that oblieged them to it; that if they had not put into the old Conformity, the new Additions, they had sinned against *Jesus Christ*, and their Faithfulness to Him? If they can, then I query, If that be not an erronious Conscience? And then the Question so often thrown upon the *Nonconformists*, of the obligation of an erring Conscience, may be retorted upon the Imposers, by indifferent judicious Men. If they cannot say so, then they might put the Question to their own Souls, whether they have not sinned in procuring such things to be imposed, as tend to the temporal Hurt and Ruine of many Families, and the great Detriment to the Church of Christ, if not by the Loss of the publick and profitable Labours of many able Ministers, yet by the Divisions that have broken in upon us by these Impositions and their denying submission to them? It nearly concerns Governors of the Church, to weigh the Necessity of their Impositions, as it doth others to weigh, whether they may act, or refuse to act according to them: For if they rigorously extend their Power beyond the Lines, to the hinderance of the Gospel, they sin against Christ. Caution and Tenderness must therefore be used. If all these things, and every one of them, be necessary to be enjoined and practised, for the Peace and Union, and Edification of the Church of God, then they condemn their predecessors of Omission of what was necessary, and contradict what they declare concerning some of these things, that they are alterable, and indifferent in themselves. And if ever any Time since their Imposition might require the Change of them, or laying them aside, that Time when they were anew enjoined, and now they are required,

might

might excuſe it, for many Reaſons that are ready at hand.

Again, ſome ſay, It is their Fault that they ſuffer. But who muſt be Judges of that? Their own Conſciences, or they who cenſure them? They are as Confident it was not their Fault, but their Duty, and roundly write, either they that impoſe, or they that refuſe, ſin grivouſly; plead their Forbearance as no Sin, but a Duty. O moſt unhappy Conteſt and ſtrait! when either Party muſt greivouſly ſin againſt God. Certainly our bleſſed Law-giver, Chriſt, never made ſuch a Law, as tends in the execution of it, to the Hurt of any of his Subjects and Miniſters, or to ſtop the Encreaſe and Progreſs of the Goſpel: And who can juſtify any particular Law, or Condition of Communion, that is but a Stumbling-block in the way of any, that are paſt being Babes, and otherwiſe inſtructed to his Kingdom;

Of this afterwards.

The general Rules of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, were given to accommodate the Differences between Jews and Gentiles, to end the Strife, to give eaſe to the Conſcience, ſilence their uncharitable Cenſures, and heal their Breaches about things indefferent; and not to determine for one againſt another, with Penalties. St. *Auſtin*, was grieved to ſee the Tranſgreſſion of a Ceremony to be more ſeverely reprehended, then the Tranſgreſſion of God's Law, *&c.* ſaith Reverened Mr. *John Loyd*, in his *Treatiſe of Epiſcopacy*, pag. 53. Can any of the Impoſers take the Comfort of their own Impoſitions, and ſay they have Peace and Comfort in the things for which learned and holy Men do ſuffer? Or if it were to do again, I would do no leſs? Then all I'le ſay more is this, Then bleſſed Act of Uniformity! which brings Comfort to them that made or procured it, and to them that ſuffer by it alſo! Comfort from the Cauſe of other Mens great Sufferings, and the great Loſs to Souls, muſt be rare indeed!

Conſider theſe Sufferings of the Ejected. They ſuffer really in their outward Eſtates, in their Freedoms, in their Dangers, being obnoxious to the Canons, as far as to Excommunication, to the Temporal Laws, to the loſs of Goods and liberty in their Names, and Honours, as counted diſobedient, factious, fanatical; they are the Objects of Virulence and Dirt, and often Proſecuted as intolerable. Theſe are great Sufferings, and a ſafe way to be redreſſed, is worthy the Wiſdom and Tenderneſs of Authority. "I am ſure, ſaith the Learned Dr. "*Stilling-fleet*, it is contrary to the Primitive practice, and the Mode-"ration then uſed, to ſuſpend or deprive Men of their Miniſterial "Functions, for not conſenting to Habits, Geſtures, and the like. *Iren.* p. 64. *Rule* 4.

Then

Then next let me consider what the Case is; and if it will appear to be a hard Case, it calls for the more speedy and effectual Relief: And this is the next thing I humbly offer to prove.

II. The Case of the Ejected Ministers is really a hard Case.

And I will endeavour the Proof of it in two things.

1. Shewing what is required of them.
2. The Penalties for not doing what is required.

1. The things required of them are either,

1. *Ecclesiastical.*
2. *Political* and mixed with a Case of Conscience, in the two Declarations they are bound by Law to make.

First, The *Ecclesiastical* Part of their Subscriptions and Declarations (For brevity sake I will pass the old Conformity.) *They are bound to declare their unfeigned Assent and Consent*, &c.

That this is heavy Injunction in it self, though abundance of us have made little of it; for some good Teeth can eat the hardest Crust, but it is Crust for all that. It is hard for any Man,

1. To assent and consent to any thing of another Man's Opinion and Judgment, except first he that gives the Assent have as throughly studied, and doth as clearly perceive the things, as he doth that requires the Assent. To assent to some things, will not pass in this case, it must be to all and every thing. What Parliament-Man will assent to any Bill, except he first be satisfied in the reason of it? *&c.*

Or, 2. Except he that requires the Assent and Consent, have a degree of Infallibility, or be endowed with an absolute uncontroulable Power, against whom no Scruple, no Objection, or Debate, can or ought to be made.

3. Would not every Practitioner in Physick think it hard, that he must subscribe Assent and Consent to all and every thing contained in, and prescribed by the *London* Dispensatory, and use no other? Would not the Judges in the Courts at *Westminster*, think it hard to declare their Assent and Consent to all and every thing in the Statutes and Laws of *England*, and not endeavour any Alteration? And why is it not hard for us, to subscribe to all and every thing contained in a Book of Divine Worship, not composed by a Divine infallible Spirit? Can more

more be required to the Scriptures or cleareſt Point of Doctrine or Faith?

4. It is hard, as appears by the Qualifications and Mitigations of the Sence of the Declaration. If the Words were clear, and eaſie for the Underſtanding and Will to digeſt, there needed no ſoft Conſtructions to help them down. It coſt all, that are careful what paſs their hands, ſome thoughts to make them eaſie. And had it not been for that one word, *Uſe*, and the help of that, it would have ſtuck with many, that are as great Pillars of the Chruch as any in it, in their ſtations and degrees. The various Conſtructions of the Forms are impartially given by the Reverend Mr. *Baxter* I ſhall not run out to defend either the rigorous or milder Conſtructions, but ſhew that the Caſe of Diſſenters is hard, and indeed of all Conformiſts, that muſt take the Words without *Salvo's*, or elſe muſt fall under the Cenſure of Hypocriſie, and doing more Hurt by conforming, than if they had not conformed. It is hard to lay the Streſs of many Parts of a Declaration, as fully and diſtinctly expreſs'd, as the Wit of ſevere Men could word them, upon one general word, *Uſe*. It is a hard Conſtruction of affirmative Propoſitions, or Parts of a poſitive Declaration, to be explained in a privative or negative Senſe; yet ſo we find them ſmoothed, and rolled up in Liquoriſh, that they may paſs the narroweſt Throats. I ſhall take the Pains to tranſcribe two Conſtructions, of two Excellent Men, which may be taken next to a publick Senſe and Conſtruction, eſpecially the one of them, who was the moſt learned and rarely tempered, Biſhop *Reynolds*, in his Sermon of Moderation before the Houſe of Pears, *Novemb.7.* 1666. a Day of Solemn Humiliation for the Peſtilence, *pag.* 24. 'And truly it is an Honour which 'Learned Men owe to one another, to allow Liberty of Diſſent in Mat-'ters of meer Opinion, *ſalve compage Fidei, ſalvo vinculo Charitatis, ſal-'va Pace Eccleſiæ* (for theſe three, Faith, Love, and Peace, are ſtill to be 'preſerved;) ſo it is a Charity which good Men owe to one another 'upon the ſame *Salvo's*, to bear with the Infirmities of each other, not 'to judge, or deſpiſe, or ſet at naught our Brethen; *as uſeleſs and inconſi-'derable Perſons*: But whom God is pleaſed to receive into his Favour 'not to caſt them out of ours. This Latitude, and Moderation of Judgment, ſome learn'd Men have taken the freedom to extend, even to the Caſe of Subſcriptions by Law required. 'The learned Authour of 'the Book called, *An anſwer to Charity maintained*, and the late learn-'ed Primate of *Armagh*, Arch Biſhop *Bramhall* (and quotes their Words 'in

Nonconformiſts Plea for peace, p. 158, &c.

'in the Margent, which are these) *For the Church of* England, *I am per-*
'*swaded, that the constant Doctrine of it is so Pure and Orthodox, that who-*
'*soever believes it, and lives according to it, undoubtedly shall be saved*; *and*
'*that there is no Error in it, which may necessitate or warrant any Man to*
'*disturb the Peace, or renounce the Communion.* This in mine Opinion is
'all attended by Subscription —— The Words of the Arch-Bishop are
'these; *We do not suffer any Man to reject the Thirty Nine Articles of the*
'*Church if* England *at his Pleasure, yet neither do we look upon them as*
'*Essentials of saving Faith, or Legacies of Christ and his Apostles*; *but in*
'*a mean, as pious Opinions, fitted for the Perservation of Unity: Neither*
'*do we believe any Man to believe them, but onely not to contradict*
'*them.*

This Sermon being printed upon request of the Lords, I though this moderate Exposition of Subscription, (as it was aimed at by that rare Preacher, I believe) might pass for approved by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and be next to a legal authentick Sence of all things required by Law: For if Subscription of Articles be in so laxe a Sence, much more, to some of the other things. But Mr. *Baxter*, who hath as good reason to know as any one Man, hath dashed this Conceit; for he writes, that when the Lords would have put in this Proviso, *To the Use of the Book*, the House of Commons refused it, and the Lords acquiesced in their reasons given in at a Conference about it. *Ubi supra, p.* 160.

The other Expositor of our Declaration, which I shall produce, is the Reverend Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Dean of St. *Paul's*, who shines as a Star in our Firmament, and in regard of his own great Reason, and Acquaintance with other great Mens thoughts, may direct the Course of fluctuating Coasters, that look for a safe Landing-place, and sure footing, before they Proceed in the Service of the Church.

In his late controverted Sermon, among other sharp Reflections upon his Friend, Mr. *Baxter*, he hath these words, *Mischief of Separation Pag.* 49. *It is a hard Case with a Church, when Men shall set their Wits to strain every thing to the worst Sence, to stretch Laws beyond the Intention and Design of them, to gather together all the doubtful and obscure Passages in Calendars, Translations,* &c. *And will not distinguish betwixt the Approbation of the Use, and of the Choice of things; for upon such Terms as those Men think to justifie the present Divisions. I much question, whether if they proceed in such a manner, they can hold Communion with any Church in the Christian World.*

So far he. From which Words, I make bold to infer, (and if I am too bold, I do seriously ask his pardon) 1. It seems to me that he li-

mits the sence of the Declaration of *Assent* and *Consent*, to the Scope and intention of the Law, which is *to the use* of the Book, and all things in it. 2. That a man may assent and consent *to the use* of those things, which a Man would not, or doth not *choose*, if left to his choice and liberty. 3. Here is a blot cast by his Elegant Pen, at least, upon some of the things contained in, and prescribed by the Book, as things not to be chosen, but only to be used by constraint. 4. An Impeachment against the Contrivers and Exacters of Conformity, for requiring Assent and Consent *to all, and every thing* (not making a difference) contained in, *&c.* which such excellent Men as the Dean is, would not choose, if left to his choice; and so their meaning comes to this: I will use this Book (and all things to be used in it) such as they are. 5. If our Governours shall, from their great Wisdom and Compassion to a most divided Church, alter the terms of Communion and Conformity, and unlace the Garment which is made too strait for the Body, which faints, being straitly laced: then no man must be offended at the Reverend Dean, or any other that conformed in this large sense, if they disuse the things now in use, and fall in with such things as may like them as well, or better. 6. I infer, and retort (which is to my purpose) that it is a hard Case with a Church, when Men shall strain their Wits to frame Declarations under such severe Penalties, to Passages that are doubtful and obscure, and capable of an ill sence, that we must turn to *Kalendars* to find out Lessons in the *Apocrypha*, that have Canonical Lessons enough, to use other Translations than the last and best, *&c.* But Mr. *Baxter* doth instance in other things, as well as *Kalendars* and *Translations*, and holds occasional Communion with the Church, as it is; and would much rather, if those Passages (which the Learned Dean calls *doubtful and obscure*) were not imposed, and is Catholick enough to hold Communion with any Christian Church, that hath not corrupted the Essentials of Christian Worship.

The second Declaration and Subscription contains Matter Political and mixed; which is, *Not to take up Armes, &c.* a thing easily consented to. I do confess that there have been fair Explications and Limitations published to make this gain Assent: but yet it is hard, unless all men could attain to the same sence; and those Explications are not known to abundance that subscribe and declare, and so promise and swear in the dark.

I cannot enter into Particulars, neither do I determine against it, but only transiently shew the Excusableness of them who cannot declare these things (altho they do not refuse it from any Principle of Disloyal-

Disloyalty or Faction) and that from this undeniable Consideration and Argument: That which all the Art, and Wit, and Interest of some Men in great Place and Power in the House of Lords, could not make to pass, but was opposed with that Clearness, and Cogency of Reason and Resolution, as if they wear saving a Nation, by resisting the Test, which could not pass into a Bill, must needs be hard to be imposed upon Ministers. And it is not improbable, but that noble Opposition gave the greatest Repulse to a dangerous Design, long carried on to subvert the Government, under a Pretence to preserve it, as it is, in all its Parts and Circumstances. And the joint Opposition of some Popish Lords against the Test, doth not at all abate the strength of this Reason; for they having a cruell Design, destructive of this Frame, could not chuse but oppose a Test, which was pretended to preserve it unalterably as it is, both in respect of the Persons that govern in the Throne, Chruch and State, and in its present Constitution. And whereas many things have been carried on, as tho to Prevent the comming of such a Year as that unhappy *Forty one*; yet really there have been great Endeavours used, to bring us under the Obligation which some brought upon us in the Year *Forty*: I mean the *Et cætera* Oath, leaving out the *Et cætera* it self, and under a colour to preserve us from a Long Parliament of the Complexion of *Forty one*, Protestation and Covenant, and War, gave Umbrage to a fearful Plot, to bring us under a Papal Slavery, introduced by bloody Massacres. And who takl'd more of *Forty one*, than some that are of late discovered to be Trecherous, and having professed to be Sons of our Church, committed Fornication with *Rome*, who had almost gone out her full Time, ready to be delivered of a Pope, and had called the *Midwife* and many Ladies to the Labour, bespoken Nurses and Gossips, and Choice of Fathers, to *Antichristen* the Monster with the Name of Catholick Chruch, with all the Ceremonies of the Mass? Some of the eminent Nonconformists be willing to declear their detestation of Disloyalty, were taken with the Declaration sent out after the *Oxford* Oath, or *Five mile Act*, being made believe that that Explication was sent forth by Good Authority; yet many smelling what was intended, were resolved to venture their own private loss of Liberty, by asserting the Publick Liberty, and (as things now appear) the Government ows them a kindness; and the Noble Lords and Commons (that understood themselves, and the encreasing Perils) immortal thanks for their seasonable Activity to Preserve the strong and ancient Government.

In the great and strong Debate about the Test, 1675. *Cellier.*

But first, we the Guides of *Congregations* must super-add that Test of our Loyalty, to the antient Oaths; as if they were not strong enough to keep us honest: next, the Officers in *Corporations*: and lastly, if the Parliament had submitted to it, we might have seen such Commissioned, abusing his Name and Authority, to destroy his Person, and cut our Throats, having first tied all our hands.

See the Commons ADDRESS *in Answer to his Majesties Message about* Tangier, *Nov.* 29, 1680. *wherein they inform his Majesty of* Popish *Officers that passed the Musters, without taking the Test against* Popery, *and about fifty Commissions granted to known* Papists, *&c. This was imputed to Secretary* W. *who was soon after displaced.*

The second Particular follows.

II. Consider the Penalties to be inflicted upon such as will not conform.

1. They who were in the Ministry, must be divorced from those, whom they had Baptized and Espoused to Christ, among whom they had laboured; and their Remove was to the shaking of many *Christians*, and to the great harm of the Church. I will instance only these three ways. First, it was as bad to many, as the change of a Nurse to a weakly Child. (I will ask no pardon for the Comparison, it being Apostolical) *Secondly*, It was enough to make many stagger, and call in question all those Truths that had been delivered to them, since that their Preachers are judged unfit to be continued in Trust with Souls: and tended to breed much Atheism, and many Errours. *Thirdly*, It tended to alienate the Minds of many from the Governours of the Church, that would enforce Laws, binding to many unnecessary things, even to the Ejection and Deprivation of many Orthodox and Painful Divines. And this sticks with many to this day: by which, the Church-Rulers have not got, but lost. And these things aggravated with an Imputation of Dishonesty in Ministers, by the publication of their Assent, *&c.* in the full Congregation. For if any had distinguished between the substance of Ordinances, and Accidentals, which was but necessary to many People (who thought no Worship Divine, without the *Common-Prayer*, (as I my self have known) nor any Child rightly baptized without the *Cross*) yet by this Act of Uniformity, they must declare Assent and Consent to all and every thing, to *Cross* as well as *Baptism*, to *Ceremony* as well as *Substance*. And how easie was it for sinful People, and weak, to say, *See what these Men can do* —— Yea, in case that in any after-time, wise and moderate Governours should see a neces-

See also Mr. Blake, *Covenant - Sealed*, pag. 308.

ty

ty of making alterations: Then again, teaching Scorners to say, Yea, see what these Men can do — to the great dishonour of Religion, and disgrace of the best of Ministers. And one would think that because the Courts continue to swear Church-Wardens to present, they had Spies enough upon our *Nonconformity*, and Punishment smart enough, they might have spared to require this Declaration; or, if they had thought us honest, our promise to conform had been sufficient, tho kept in the Registers, and made at our Institutions. Yet through this Dishonour we attain our Honour. They are debarred from all exercise of their Ministerial Abilities, their Wives and Children turned out of Doors; and when they had made a sad and chargeable Remove of late, must remove again upon the *five-mile* Act. And these Penalties were next to Death, and I conceive, proved the Death of many. I remember the Renowned Bishop *Morton* wrote these words to the *Nonconformists*, and desired them earnestly to consider the Censure of the Apostl's *Wo* being so dreadful: "I ought not to esteem any thing a just Cause, why "I should wilfully incur the Censure of Silencing my self from Preach-"ing, for which I ought not as willingly to adven-"ture my Life. The *Nonconformists* have suffered what is next to Death, and too many have suffered even unto Death, in Prisons, where several caught their Death, and others died: (it is a dreadful story) of whom shall their Deaths be required? And it is easie to retort those words of the Reverend Bishop, "Imposers should not "esteem any thing a just cause of bringing any under the censures of Si-"lencing of Preachers from Preaching, for which they may not adven-"ture to take away their Lives. *The General Defence of the three Ceremonies. Part.* 1. P. 163.

It is objected, *That they sin against the Law.* And they may answer, *Who procured the Law?* it is the Magistrate's Sword, but who moved him to draw it? They are told they have no cause to complain of sufferings; for the Magistrate hath been merciful and hath not executed the Laws.

Thanks be to God for the Mercy: but all have not been so merciful as the King hath been, or many inferiour Magistrates; but their mercy hath not been kindly taken by many, who should have more tender Bowels than any Man that wears a Sword. To conclude; a reasonable understanding may doubt whether that Law be fit to remain in force that cannot be put in execution, without more real hurt than good. And if the wise and merciful God hath by many remarkable Providences put a stop to the execution; Wise Senators have voted a *Miti-*

gation

gation till they could obtain an *Abrogation* of those Laws.

2. The Penalty is hard upon them that would come in but for these Injunctions. It is but a *narrow* Passage that is made for them that enter in: yet what shall they do who have spent all they have in a Preparatory Education? In they must, tho but to a Curacy, (which is not easie to be had.) It is grievous to think with what Implicite Faith they do what is to be done; yet must Assent to more than ever many have studied, [rather following Example than Reason] or else there is nothing for them to do. Others that are enclin'd to Learning, and to serve in the Gospel, are deterred upon many accounts, and have great prejudices against Conformity, because of the great reverence they have to *Nonconformists*; and these are under a great temptation to perpetuate a Nonconformity: which is more sutable to their inclinations, as being a state of freedon to their Consciences, from great Obligations, tho an Estate attended with hazard to their Bodies and Estates. And all young Students are under this necessity, either they must subscribe hand over-head, or else they must spend their time in these endless Controversies of the Church, and be ingaged in the doleful and fearful Wars of the Church, on one side or other.

3. The third Consideration that pleads for our *Non-conforming Brethren*, is taken from the Reasonableness of their Demands. I distinguish these Demands, into those Proposals made by the Commissioners in the *Savoy*, *Anno* 1662. with that Modesty, Gravity, Humility and Reason, treating the Bishops and others Commissioners as Superiours. 2. Into those which have been repeated by particular Persons, and may be seen in the Writings of Laborious and Catholick Mr. *Baxter*, *M. John Corbet*, and Dr. *Owen* in his learned and moderate book of Church-Peace, Love and Unity. I shall only generally compare what they humbly desired, with what was declared.

1. In his Majesties gracious Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affaires: a most larg and healing Plaister for the Churches Wounds; and might have been a Pillar to have born up the Church in Unity, as his Gracious *Act of Indemnity and Oblivion* hath held up the state; if some Men, who can be loyal for their own ends, had not (perhaps) been industrious to make Divisions by their Affected Terms of Union.

2. They humbly moved for many things which great Men, and famous in the Church of God to all posterity thought fit to be mended. In that Year 1641, there was a *Committee* for Religion appointed in the House of Lords, ten Earls, ten Bishops, ten Barons. The Bishop of *Lincoln*, (*Williams*) sent a Letter to some Divines to attend that Ser-

Service (who met in his House, the Deanary of *Westminster*) upon which Arch-Bishop *Laud* hath this Note: 'Upon the whole matter, I believe this *Committee* will prove the National Synod of *England*, to 'the great dishonour of the Church: and what else may follow upon it, 'God knows. *Breviat. of his Life* Pag. 24.

These Divines were no less men, than the most Venerable Arch-Bishop *Usher*, Bishop (*Williams*) of *Lincoln*, Dr. *Brideaux* (after, Bishop of *Worcester*) Dr. *Browrig*, (after, Bishop of *Exeter*) Dr. *Ward* (Professor of Divinity in *Cambridge*, and Arch-Deacon of *Taunton*) Dr. *Featly*, Dr. *Hacket*, of late, Bishop of *Covemry* and *Litchfield*. All these Names were printed to a Copy of the Proceedings, a Paper called, *The Proceedings*, &c. *touching Innovations in Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of* England; *together with Considerations upon the Common-Prayer Book*. Out of which I draw a Parallel, with the Propofals of the Divines appointed to treat by his Majesties Commission, with the Arch-Bishop and Bishops, and other Divines of the *Church of England*, at the *Savoy*. [See Account of the Proceedings, printed, *London*, 1661.]

Because this Parallel contains an Agreement in considerable great Points, between these deservedly magnified *Church-Divines*, and the (undeservedly) despised *Dissenting-Divines*: I must clear that little *Pamphlet*, with which this Parallel is drawn, from a great and foul Imputation cast upon the *Dissenting Divines*, in the Debate at the *Savoy*, by Dr. *Womock* in his Exposing *Setting-Letter*, to a Reverend *Commissioner* (for the *Liturgy*, &c.) in that Debate. The *Pia Fraudes*, or *Holy Cheats* of the *Dissenting Party*, is 'the thing you expect— as I shall do it in a matter of Fact, of great Importance. He quotes a Passage out of the Grand Debate, misprinted, p. 64, &c. It should be p. 28. *We beseech you, deny not the Name of* Protestants *to the Primate in* Ireland: *The Arch-Bishop of* York, &c. *who drew up a Catalogue of Faults, or Points, that needed mending*, &c. *Would not any sober man be apt to conclude from this bold Assertion*, saith the Doctor, *that there was such a Consult about the Reformation of the* Liturgie. 2. *Such a Catalogue of Faults drawn up, owned, and published to the Kingdom by these worthy Persons*, &c. — *But the matter of Fact*, saith the Doctor,

Printed by Robert Clavel, 1682. *I can buy the whole News, Bound, for as little as these two Letters in Octavo, 89 pages, and great Character. I expected to see more Light into this Grand Debate.*

was

was clearly otherwiſe. There was indeed a Print with a Picture before it, (1641) *and to give it Credit, theſe great Names were put to it.* —— *That this Spurious Catalogue was fathered upon him, that* Primate *took for a Scandalous Imputation* —— *and was not quiet in Mind till he procured an Order from the then Houſe of Commons, to ſuppreſs it, as followeth.* Whereas complaint hath been made unto us by *James*, Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Armagh*, and Primate of all *Ireland*, that a certain Pamphlet hath been lately, moſt injuriouſly *fathered upon him*, and ſpread abroad under the falſe Title of, *The Biſhop of Armah's Direction to the Houſe of Parliament concerning the Liturgie and Epiſcopal Government.* It is this day ordered in the *Common*'s *Houſe*, &c. The Doctor goes on to diſcover more of the Practices of theſe men out of an *Addreſs* made by Mr. *Ley* to the *Primate*; which, the Doctor ſaith upon his own Knowledge, he took for a Slander: and for a further ſatisfaction, refers him that deſires it, to Dr. *Bernard*, in his Account of the Biſhops Judgment, *&c.* the 2*d.* Letter againſt the *Diſſenters*, p. 63, 64, 65.

But men ſhould be well informed, before they be ſo confident, and faſten *Pia Fraudes* and *Holy Cheats* upon good men. Let the Reader Judge, if Dr. *Womack* be not guilty of a great miſtake and partiality. For, 1. It is certain, there was a *Committee* for Religion ſettled in the upper Houſe of Parliament; ſee the Breviat of Arch-Biſhop *Laud*'s Life, with his Note upon it, *pag.* 24. and *Fullers* Hiſtory of the Church: *Centur.* 17. *pag.* 174.

This *Committee* will meddle with Doctrine, as well as Ceremonies, and call ſome Divines to them to conſider of the Buſineſs, as appears by a Letter hereto annexed, ſent by the Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, ſaid Arch-Biſhop *Laud*.

2. Theſe Divines, with ten more, were called, and met at the *Jeruſalem-Chamber*: ſee their Names in Dr. *Fuller*.

3. This *Pamphlet*, out of which I take this Parallel, was not the ſame which Arch-Biſhop *Uſher* took for a Slander, and had an Order to ſuppreſs, as appears by theſe Evidences. 1. They have not the ſame Title; 2*dly*. Nor ſaid to be done by the ſame men. 3*dly*. Nor contain the ſame Particulars. For this, let us obſerve the Order of the *Houſe of Commons*: in which it is called, *The Biſhops of* Armagh's *Direction to the Houſe of Parliament, concerning the Liturgie and Epiſcopal Government*: and another *Vox Hiberniæ*: both theſe were ſuppreſſed upon his Petition, *February* 11. 1641. Dr. *Bernard*; which are not the *Primate*'s Works, Printed in the Letter of A-B. *C*'s. Judgment.

This

This *Pamphlet*, saith Dr. *Womack*, *was Printed soon after with another Title, and the Names and Pictures, as before mentioned.* If it was, it doth not yet appear that that was the same *Pamphlet* with this. This is the Proceeding of the Divines touching *Innovations* in Doctrine and Discipline of the *Church of England*, together with Considerations on the *Common-Prayer Book*.

2. The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* enters in his Diary, *March* 21. *A Committee for Religion*, &c. Whereas the Book suppressed, was suppressed before *February* 11. as Dr. *Bern.* the 9th. as Dr. *Womack* hath it. And because it is described by having Pictures before it; mine hath none; nor is there the least mark it ever had. But that they are not the same, appears by the Argument of both. This agrees with the Heads repeated in Dr. *Fuller*, and is very suitable to the Judgment, I am sure, of most, if not all the most Reverend Men to whom it is attributed, as I could shew in Particulars. And if the *Presbyterians* or *Reforming Divines* had been so unskilful in the Knowledge of Books and Passages in their Inquisitive Times, and so weak, as to quote a Book of no Authority: Dr. *Hacket*, whose Name was to that *Pamphlet*, might easily detect the Fraud and disown it, who was one of the Commissioners in the *Savoy*. And because Dr. *Womack* concludes with a Reference to the Testimony of Dr. *Bernard* concerning the *Primates* Judgment; thither we may safely go. He was for the substance of the *Liturgie*, and a prudent moderate Accomodation might have been thought of, for the continuance of the substantial part of it: Arbitrary *Innovations* he did not affect, and often wished they had not been introduced. See the *Primates* Judgment, *p.* 144. *&c.*

The Divines appointed to meet in the Dean's House, 1641.

Considerations on the *Common-Prayer*.

2. Whether the Reading of *Psalms*, Sentences of Scripture, concuring in divers places in Hymns, the *Epistles* and *Gospels*, should not be set out in the New-Translation.

4. Whether Lessons of *Canonical* Scripture should not be put in the *Kalendar* instead of the *Apocrypha*?

5. That

The Commissioners in the Savoy, 1661.

In regard of the many defects which have been observed in that Version of the Scriptures which is used throughout the *Liturgie*, We therefore desire instead thereof, the New Translation, allowed by Authority, may alone be used, 8. p. 5. -9. It is therefore desired that nothing may be read in the *Church* for Lessons, but the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

5. That the *Doxology* should be always printed at the end of the Lord's Prayer.

6. Whether the *Rubrick* should not be mended, where it is, (that the Lessons should be sung in a plain tune) why not, read with a distinct Voice?

7. whether *Gloria Patri* should be repeated at the end of every *Psalm*?

Consider. 9. Whether the *Hymns*, *Benedicite*; *Omnia Opera*, *&c.* may not be left out?

3. Whether the *Rubrick* should not be mended, where all Vestments in time of Divine Service, are now commanded, which were used 2 *E.* 6.

10. In the Prayer for the Clergy that phrase perhaps to be altered, [*which only workest great marvels.*]

11. *In the Rubrick for the Administration of the Lords Supper.* Whether this Alteration to be made, that such as intend to communicate, shall signify their Names to the Curate over Night or in the Morning before Prayers.

12. The next *Rubrick* to be cleared, How far a Minister may repulse a scandalous and notorious Sinner from the Communion.

13. Whe-

Exception 3. We desire that the words, *For thine is the Kingdom* — may be always added to the Lord's Prayer.

Except. p. 13. The *Lessons*, and *Epistles*, and *Gospels*, being for the most part, neither *Psalms* nor *Hymns*, we know no warrant why they should be sung in any place; and conceive that the distinct reading of them with an audible voice, tends more to the edification of the *Church*.

Except. We desire it may be used but once in the Morning, and once in the Evening.

Except. We desire that some *Psalm* or *Scripture-hymn*, may be appointed instead of that *Apocryphal*.

Except. We desire it may be left out.

The Preface of many *Collects* seem not to have any clear and special respect to the Petitions, *&c. Partic.* p. 7.

In the Order for the Lords Supper.
Except. The time here assigned (in the *Rubrick*) for notice to be given to the Minister, is not sufficient.

Except. We desire the Ministers Power, both to admit and repulse from the Lord's Table, may be, according to his Majesty's Declaration, *Octob.* 25. 1660.

Except.

13. Whether that *Rubrick* is not to be mended, where the Churchwardens are ſtraitly appointed to gather the Alms for the Poor, before the Communion begins, for by experience it is proved to be done better when the people depart.

Except. Collections for the Poor may be better made at, or a little before the departure of the Communicants.

14. Whether the *Rubaick* is not to be mended, concerning the party that is to make his general Confeſſion upon his Knees, before the Communion, that it ſhould be ſaid only by the Miniſter, and then at every clauſe repeated to the people.

We deſire it may be made by the Miniſter only.

16. Whether it be not fit to inſert a *Rubrick* touching kneeling at the Communion; that is, to comply in all humility with the Prayer which the Miniſter makes when he delivers the Elements.

We deſire that the following *Rubrick* in the *Common-Prayer Book* of 5. of *Edw.* 6. may be reſtored, for the Vindication of the Church, in the matter of kneeling at the Sacrament, *&c.*

19. Whether in the firſt Prayer at the Baptiſm, theſe words, *Didſt ſanctifie the Flood* Jordan, *and all other Waters*, ſhould not be thus changed, *Didſt ſanctifie the Element of Water?*

It being doubtful whether either the Flood *Jordan*, or any other Waters, were ſanctified to a Sacramental uſe by our Saviours being Baptized—— We deſire this may be otherwiſe expreſſed.

20. Whether it be not fit to have ſome diſcreet *Rubrick* made, to take away all Scandal from ſignifying the Sign of the *Croſs* upon Infants after *Baptiſm*, or if it ſhall ſeem more expedient, to be quite diſuſed; whether this Reaſon ſhould be publiſhed, that in antient *Liturgies*, *No Croſs* was conſigned upon the Party, but where Oyl alſo was uſed, and therefore Oyl being now omitted, ſo may alſo that which was concomitant with it, the Sign of the *Croſs*.

18. *General Propoſal.* After ſtrong arguing, they conclude, We therefore moſt earneſtly intreat the *right* reverend Fathers and Brethren, to whom theſe Papers are delivered, as they tender the Glory of God, the Honour of Religion, the Peace of the Church, the Service of his Majeſty, in the accompliſhment of that happy Union, which his Majeſty hath ſo abundantly teſtified his Deſires of, to joyn with us in importuning his moſt Excellent Majeſty, that his moſt gracious Indulgence

21. In

as to these Ceremonies granted in his Royal Declaration, may be continued and confirmed to us and our Posterities, and extended to such as do not yet enjoy the Benefit thereof.—

Of Private Baptism.

We desire that Baptism may not be in a private Place at any time, unless by a Lawful Minister, and in the presence of a competent number; and where it is evident that any Child hath been so baptized, no part of the Administration may be reiterated in publick under any Limitations, and therefore we do not see any need of any *Liturgy* in that Case.

21. In private Baptism, the *Rubrick* mentions that which must not be done, That the *Minister may dip the Child in Water, being at the point of Death.*

Exception of Confirmation.

Altho we charitably suppose the meaning of these words was only to exclude the necessity of any other Sacraments to baptized Infants; yet these words are dangerous, as to the misleading of the Vulgar, and therefore we desire they may be expunged.

22. Whether in the last *Rubrick* of Confirmation those words be to be left out, [*and be undoubtedly saved.*]

Except. of Catechism.

We desire the first question may be altered, considering for 20 years past, many had no God-Fathers; and the *7th. Q.* The second *Answ.* Wherein I was visibly admitted into the number of the Members of Christ. That the Commandments may be inserted according to the last Translation of the Bible. That in the Exposition of the Commandments, some *Clause* may be inserted to refer to the Fourth Commandment, that those words be omitted.

23. Whether the *Catechism* may not receive a little more enlargement.

Answer, thus given, Two only, *Baptism* and the *Lords Supper*, &c. A more full Explication of the *Creed*, *Lords Prayer* and *Ten Commandments*, &c.

24. Whe-

24. Whether the Times prohibited for Mariage are quite to be taken away?

25. Whether none hereafter shall have Licenses to Marry, nor be asked their Banes of Matrimony, that shall not bring with them a Certificate from their Ministers, that they are instructed in their Catechism?

26. Whether these words in Matrimony [*with my Body I thee worship*] shall not be thus altered, *I give thee Power over my body*?

27. Whether the last *Rubrick* of Marriage should not be mended, that the new married Persons should receive the Communion the same day of the Marraige, may it not well be; or upon the next *Sunday* following, when the Communion is celebrated?

28. In the Absolution of the Sick, were it not plain, to say, *I pronounce thee Absolved*?

29. The *Psalm* of Thankgiving of Women after Child-birth, Were it not fit to be composed out of proper Versicles taken from divers *Psalms*.

32. In

Except of the Form of Marriage

The word *Worship* being much altered in the use of it, since this Form was drawn up, we desire some word may be used instead of it.

This *Rubrick* doth either enforce all to forbear Marriage as are unfit for the Sacrament, or the unprepared to come to the Sacrament. And therefore we desire it may be omitted, the rather because that Marriage Festivals are too often accompanied with such divertisements, as are unsuitable to those Christian Duties which ought to be before, and follow after the receiving of that Holy Sacrament.

Except. Visitation of the Sick.

That form of Absolution be declarative and conditional, as [*I pronounce thee Absolved*] instead of [*I Absolve thee*] if thou dost truly repent and believe.

This *Psalm* (121) seems not to be so pertinent as some other, *viz.* *Psal.* 113. and *Psal.* 128. ——

Except.

32. In the Order of the Burial of all Persons, tis said, *We commit this Body to the Ground, in sure and certain hope of Resurrection to eternal Life*: Why not thus, Knowing assuredly that the Dead shall rise again.

Except. Burial of the Dead.

These words cannot in truth be said of Persons living and dying in open and notorious Sins.

34. In the Litany, instead of *Fornication, and all other deadly Sin*; Would it not satisfy thus, From Fornication, and all other grievous Sins?

Except. In the Litany.

In regard that the Wages of Sin is Death; We desire that this *Clause* may be thus altered, *From Fornication, and all other hainous or grievous Sins.*

35. It is very fit that the Imperfections of the Meeter, in the Singing *Psalms* should be mended; and then lawful Authority added unto them, to have them publickly sung before and after Sermons, and sometimes instead of the Hymns of Morning and Evening Prayer.

Gen. Proposition. 12. p. 6.

Because singing of *Psalms* is a considerable part of publick Worship, We desire that the Version set forth and allowed to be sung in Churches, may be amended, or that we may have leave to make use of a purer Version.

I shall not draw the Parallel any further, but infer these following Observations.

1. That those Great and Famous Men did see some necessity or reason for altering of many things in the *Liturgie*; and therefore the *Presbyterian* Divines (most of whom were and are *Nonconformists*) were not altogether captious and quarrelsom, that maintain'd a Necessity of Reformation. On the other side, there were Learned Men, who maintained there was no necessity of Reformation: But you see, against the sense of those admirable Divines that met in the *Dean's* House, 1641.

2. I observe, That the Proposals and Exceptions of the Commissioners in the *Savoy*, were not without great President; and insisted upon many things, which the most eminent Fathers of the *Church of England* would have yielded to them, and doubtless, much more, if not all, for Peace and Union.

3. To speak a word for the reproached Brethren of the *Nonconformists* (who are represented to have all the ill Humours of factious Persons, and discontented, that know not what to ask, nor what they would

would have) is but a Piece of Juſtice and Chriſtian Charity. Men think nothing but Presbytery, and Covenants, and Directory, will pleaſe them; which is not juſt nor true. They deſired that the *Liturgie* may conſiſt of nothing doubtful or queſtioned amongſt Pious, Orthodox, Learned Men, *&c.* Dr. *Allen* of *Huntingdon-ſhire*, and Clark in the Convocation, did earneſtly labour with the then Biſhop of *London*, (afterwards Arch-Biſhop) that they might ſo refine the *Liturgie*, that no ſober Man might make Exception. He was wiſhed to forbear, for what ſhould be, was concluded on, or reſolved. They deſired the Obſervation of *Saints Days* might be omitted, *&c.* The moſt Reverend *Uſher*, and the reſt, begin their Conſiderations with this; *Whether the Names of ſome departed Saints, and others, ſhould not be quite expunged the Kalendar?* They deſired that there might be no ſuch Impoſition of the *Liturgie*, as that the Exerciſe of the Gift of Prayer be thereby totally excluded in any part of publick Worſhip. The moſt excellent *Uſher*, (*p.* 5. §. 16.) and the reſt, reckon it among the Innovations; 'By prohibiting a direct Prayer before Sermon, and bidding of Prayer, (which is now the mode all over the Biſhoprick of *Dureſm*, as ſome that are no Strangers in it, ſay.)

They at the *Savoy* ſtood for a Reformation, and were not ſingular therein; for without it, the Reverend Dr. *Featly*, (a worthy Man, and great Sufferer in our unhappy Wars, which, as is ſaid of the Sword, makes no difference) printed this Challenge and Manifeſto.

1. 'The Articles of Religion need no alteration at all, but only an 'Orthodox Explication in ſome ambiguous Phraſes, and a Vindication 'againſt falſe Aſperſions.

2. 'That the Government by Biſhops (*removing all Innovations and 'Abuſes in the Execution thereof*) is agreeable to Gods Word, and a 'truly Antient and Apoſtolical Inſtitution.

3. 'That the Book of *Common-Prayer* (*N. B.* the *Kalendar* being 'reformed, in point of *Apocryphal* Saints and Chapters; ſome *Rubricks* 'explained, and ſome Expreſſions reviſed, and the Whole correctly 'Printed, with all the Pſalms, Chapters, and Allegations out of the 'Old and New Teſtament, according to the laſt Traſlation) is the 'moſt compleat, perfect, and exact *Liturgie* in the Chriſtian World, *Dippers Dipt*, p. 16, 22. and *Gentle Laſh*, 1644.

And this is the ſame in effect with what the Divines at the *Savoy* humbly propoſed; and without all theſe Exceptions, that Champion, Dr. *Featly*, would not undertake his Vindication of them: by which it ſeems, the Fort of the Church-Conſtitution and Diſcipline was not

tenable

tenable, as it stood at that time; but our great Church-men were resolved, that the World should know their Strength, as well as Reason, to regain with advantage in 1661, what they lost in 1641.

The Presbyterian Divines (as they, were called) did urge, both rationally, heartily, and humbly, that the Ceremonies might be omitted, being doubtful whether the Church had power to enjoin mystical teaching Signs (which the Imposers confessed indifferent) of no real goodness, *&c.* which many of the Opposers accounted sinful, others inconvenient, and unsuitable to the simplicity of the Gospel; and had been, for a hundred Years, the Fountain of manifold Evils, *&c.* And herein they were not singular; for other men when disengaged, and Masters of their Liberty, have said as much, or enough to take off the edge, from Imposers to require them, or of wise men to desire them. I shall here Produce the Judgment of some learned and judicious Conforming Divines, concerning Ceremonies. The first shall be the most eminent Dr. *Stillingfleet*, in that excellent *Irenicum*, the first born of his most learned Youth, and mature Reason and Judgment; and had it been the work of his Age, it had been a Birth at full growth, in respect of Piety, Gravity, sweetness of Temper, Beauty of Complexion, wise Observation and Experience, that, *and Author of the Irenicum*, had filled up the Epitaph of the Dean of St. *Pauls*. This is the last Proposal of Accommodation; 'That Religion be not clogg'd with Ceremonies.-- Christian Religion is a plain, simple, easy thing.-- By Ceremonies I do not mean here Matters of meer Decency and Order, for Order-sake. —— But Ceremonies properly taken for '*Actions significative*, their lawfulness may with better grounds 'be scrupled, *pag.* 67. and before, *pag.* 66. We see the Primitive 'Church did not make so much of any uniformity in Rites and Cere-'monies --- I shall quote too much, if I give way to what is mature, and past his own mending, without disparagement to his more grown Reason be it spoken.

The second is a great Scholar and Divine, the late worthy Mr. *G. Lawson* (Rector of *Moor* in *Shropshire*) in his Exposition of the Second Commandment, *Theopolitica*, *B.* 2. *c.* 8. 'As for significant Ceremo-'nies annexed to the Service of God, no ways conducing to the better 'performance thereof, I think they are better spared and omitted, 'than used and observed. For though considered in themselves, with-'out any reference to Gods Worship, they be indifferent, and so in ge-'neral may be lawful; yet if we examine their Original, the first oc-'casion of their Institution; the Persons who use, or rather abuse

'them,

'them, and understand withal how needless and unprofitable they be, 'and how offensive to some weak Brethren; and also besides these may 'be instituted many more of that kind, and may be imposed upon the 'same ground; and that in the Church of *Rome* they have been an oc- 'casion of Superstition: it must needs be concluded, by impartial and 'judicious Men, that they are not expedient. To say, and publickly 'declare that they have no sanctifying Power, that they are neither Ho- 'ly nor Unholy, will not serve the turn; for the same may be said of 'Imagse, at first, when they began to be used; and do what we can, 'many of the People do account them to be Holy, make them parts of 'God's Worship, and are more careful in the observation of them, than 'they are of the more weighty Duties of Re- 'ligion. —— Doctrine in this case will not *Calfhill* of the *Cross*, 'prevail, if the thing that they trusted to, be *against* Martial, *p.* 88. 'not taken from them. So it may be, bating 'the degrees of Offence, when matters of Indifferency in themselves, 'are, by the generality of People, not looked on as such, but used as 'a necessary part of Divine Service. Dr. *Stillin. Iren.* p. 64. They who industriously labour to keep out *Popery*, can never cleanse a People from *Superstitions*, while they keep up Ceremonies, an Observation of present Use.

My third Testimony is, a Man of great Learning, and of long standing in the Church, Mr. *John Lloyd* B.D. now of *North Tidworth* in *Wilts*, *Treat.* of *Episc. Litur. Rites*, &c. *Lond.* 1660. 'Many have entertain- 'ed a great Fear, which hath alienated their Minds from all *Episcopacy*; 'namely, that innumerable company of unnecessary and burdensom 'Ceremonies, be inseperable concomitants of Episcopal Government. 'Indeed, the fear is not vain, and without grounds, if we respect the 'degenerate Episcopacy, as it is, if we regard the Primitive, which 'hath been, and will be contented with a very few, if need be. —— '*P.* 32. S. 15. (the whole Section gives a short and full account of *Pri- 'mitive Simplicity*) One Reason why Ceremonies increased in the 'fourth *Century*, may be this, Because the Church more flourished in 'Prosperity than at any time before, and might be thought conveni- 'ent, that the External Glory of the Church, should be proportioned 'to the Glory of the Empire. *p.* 38. We may err, as in defect, so in 'excess of Ceremonies, or in the choice, or in accounting and compel- 'ling others to own them for unchangeable Apostolick Institutes, or 'by too rigid pressing of every of them, especially upon People of 'weak Capacity, humble, peaceable, and scrupulous Conscience. ——

'Antiquity is venerable, yet it may not, ought not continue a Rite or 'Ceremony in any *Church*, with whoſe Edification and Peace it is be- 'come inconſiſtent. There be but few Ordinances meerly Eccleſiaſti- 'cal, which have not in ſome *Churches* become noxious, or at leaſt, uſe- 'leſs. And there is a viciſſitude of Profit or Detriment growing from 'them in the ſame *Churches*, ariſing from notable changes in Perſons 'and Circumſtances.—— If it ſhould ſeem good to the *Church* ☞ '*of England* to mend their *Liturgie*, or compoſe a new one, (if 'need be) more agreeable to the Preſent Time, they ſhould do 'therein no more than the moſt famous *Churches* have done before; 'and which can be no diſparagement to the Wiſdom and Piety of the 'Compoſers of it, which intended only to make it as fit as could be 'for the State of the *Church* in their Time, and not to Frame and Im- 'poſe an unchangeable Form, which could never prove incongruous 'to any poſſible variety in the State of the *Church*; for this is not in 'the Power of any *Perſons* or *Churches*, *p.* 54, 55. Thus far this great 'Student, modeſt, moderate good Man.

I will content my ſelf with the Opinions of theſe three worthy Perſons, when diſengaged; and although they conformed, they were, and are, no doubt, of the ſame mind, free in their minds, when obliged in their Practice to ſubmit.

What more than what I have ſhewed, the Commiſſioners at the *Savoy* pleaded for, may be ſeen in the Account of their Proceedings: But what got they by thoſe Debates, beſides ſatisfaction in their own Souls, that they debated and petitioned for Peace? A very little indeed! And what the Biſhops gave with the one hand, they got with the other. It was ſtrange and hard that they could not prevail ſo far as to get the *Commandments* in the *Church-Catechiſm* and *Communion-Service*, to be after the laſt and beſt Tranſlation in our Bibles; but our Children muſt be taught the Fourth *Commandment* after the manner of the Judaizing *Seventh-Day-Sabbath Sect*; for ſo they are taught, *Wherefore he bleſſed the Seventh Day and Hallowed it*; and our unwary People are taught to pray, that God would *incline their Hearts to keep this Law*, that Law which enjoyneth the Seventh-Day as the *Sabbath*, which God Bleſſed and Hallowed: whereas the Law, *Remember the Sabbath Day*, which extends to the *Firſt-Day*, as well as the *Seventh-Day*, and makes the *Firſt-Day* moral, when appointed by the Lord of the Sabbath: (But this Doctrine was not conſonant to the

Opinion

Opinions of Dr. *Heylin*, Mr. *Thorndike*, nor (which I wonder at) to the judicious Bp. *Sanderſon*) as much as the *Seventh* was from the Creation. What if an inquiring Child that is Catechiſed, ſhould ask his Parent, What do we keep as *Sabbath?* The *Firſt*, he'l ſay. But ſaith the Child, Why do we keep the *Firſt?* What *Commandment* for that? or what Promiſe? For we are taught in the *Catechiſm*, *God bleſſed the Seventh Day*. Is not this a Temptation to keep the *Seventh-Day* Sabbath? Had the *Preſbyterians* Pleaded for that Tranſlation, they might have heard of their Ignorance in the *Hebrew*: and demanding things not fit to be allowed.

Hiſt. of the Sabbath. Juſt Weights and Meaſures. Caſe of the Sabbath.

They deſired the *Doxologie*, or *Concluſion* of the *Lords Prayer*, *For Thine is the Kingdom*, &c. might be always added to the *Lords Prayer*; but were denyed.

Query. *Whether they have not thereby taught us this Opinion, That the Forms of Prayers are lawful, yet a variety is as lawful as a ſet Form of words?*

We prove the lawfulneſs by our Saviour's Preſcription, *When ye Pray, ſay*, &c. And may we not prove a liberty, or variety of Expreſſions, keeping ſtill to the ſame matter, when we read a difference in the ſame Prayer, as delivered by two Evangeliſts, inſpired by the ſame Spirit? and when we ſee the Practice of the *Church* is ſometimes to uſe, and ſometimes to omit the *Doxologie* and *Concluſion?* And why ſhall the *Church* ſo ſeverely enjoyn the exact uſe of all her Forms, and they who omit, (when their Prudence and Conſcience (as to ſome Prayers) tells them they ſhould ſometimes, concerning ſome Petitions and Perſons) be liable to cenſure, when a part of the *Lords Prayer*, as, delivered by St. *Matthew*, is conſtantly omitted? For ought I ſee, a liberty and variety of Prayers, ſtrictly keeping to Divine Matter, with Abbreviations and Enlargements, is as lawful as a ſtinted invariable Form of words, and is a matter of *Chriſtian-Liberty*, to be uſed, as ſhall beſt ſerve to the Edification of the *Church of Chriſt*: and divers Expreſſions are as much from the ſame Spirit (provided always they agree with the Language of the Holy Ghoſt) as diverſity of Gifts, and conſiſtant with the Unity of the Spirit. And they who Plead for a neceſſity of Forms, muſt alſo yield to a variety upon the ſame Subject, which we have for the King in the Service, and a few others. See *A-B. Uſher*'s Judgment (and Practice) *p.* 145. 149. 150. 153. Publiſhed by Dr. *Bernard*. 1657.

A Reformation was thought abſolutely neceſſary to Union. Hear what Mr. *Herbert Thorndike*, one of the Commiſſioners for the *Church* in the *Savoy*, wrote; *But now that the Unity is not to be had, without ſetling agreement in Matters of Difference; to propoſe what may ſeem beſt for the Community of Gods Church, in the cure of our Breaches, is not to give Offence, but to take it away. Nor do I know any Man profeſſing the Reformation ſincerely, that could not wiſh with all his heart, that the whole Order and Form to be ſettled, with the Circumſtance of the ſame, might be according to the Primitive Simplicity, and naked Plainneſs of the Antient Church.* p. 245. —— *The Form of Service now in Force by Law, may be acknowledged capable of Amendment without diſparagement either to the Wiſdom of the Church that preſcribed it, or of the Nation that enacted it.*

A due way of compoſing Differences, *Printed with his* Weights and Meaſures. *p.* 236. Edit. 1662.

Some Promiſed much, but granted little: others begg'd more, and pleaded hard, but obtained not. And may not this juſtify the *Nonconformiſts* waiting for, and earneſtly deſiring a redreſs of material things, ſince they could obtain but very little then, and cannot in conſcince ſubſcribe and declare now? If they had been gratified then, and had now been diſcontented without more, there had been more reaſon for the prejudice that is propagated againſt them.

If it be Objected, *Why could not they have Conformed, as ſome of their Fellow-Commiſſioners did?*

I *Anſwer*, 1. Some very worthy Perſons did conform, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Horton*, Dr. *Lightfoot*; and after about ſeven years ſilence, to the great loſs of *Exeter* Colledge, *Oxford*, and the Church of God, Dr. *Conant* conformed, and theſe were all.

2. The Reaſons why theſe did not, is, becauſe, as the ſame Spectacles will not ſerve all Mens ſight, ſo becauſe they could not, as they oft declared, both to the ſhaking off ſome, and the diſpleaſure of others within the Pale.

My laſt Obſervation ſhall be upon the Perſons that managed that Debate. The Commiſſioners that Pleaded for the Union as it was, without a Reformation, were the ſtrongeſt and ſtiffeſt of any in the *Church of England*. Men of great Learning, long Experience in the Eccleſiaſtical Government, and that had ſuffered much, and were much exaſperated, as being (ſeveral of them, next the Biſhops) moſt obnoxious to the Parliament, as moſt guilty of Innovations in Doctrine and Diſcipline, by the Informations and Complaint of as Learned, and

as

as Great Men as any of them in the *Church of England*, as may eaſily be produced out of the beſt account of thoſe Times; all except Dr. *Morley*, Dr. *Earle*, Dr. *Sanderſon*, (againſt whom I remember no Complaints) and a few beſide. Their Conſtancy and Sufferings did recommend them to the King's Favour: and the great Agreement in their General Deſign, held them to one another; and having the diſpoſing of Preferments as they pleaſed, or at leaſt, the Recommendation of Candidates, Expectants complyed with them, and were forward to walk according to their Meaſures. The moderating Biſhops *Hall*, *Prideaux*, *Brownrig*, were gone to Heaven, and others of another temper; and ſo it was eaſier for them to carry all their own way: and two things, as conducing to their Deſigns, was neceſſary.

1. To frame a Convocation to their minds, and to that end, great care and pains were uſed to keep out, and to get in, by very undue Proceedings. Proteſtations were entred againſt all Incumbents not ordained by Biſhops, though it was not through their Faults; and to exclude others, that they feared had an inclination to moderation indeed, under the name of *Preſbytery*. And ſuch an Election being made, as there was no great fear of calling any thing to free Debates, few Leading Men being of another mind, ſo there were no Debates to ſpeak of; the greateſt that I could hear of, was beeween the *Cambridge Profeſſor*, Dr. *Gunning*, and the *Oxford Profeſſor*, Dr. *Creed*, about (a hard Point indeed) *The Age of Children to be Confirmed*.

2. For all his Majeſties moſt gracious and excellent Declaration concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, they laboured, by all their Intereſt and Endeavours, to have a Parliament that would paſs what they would contrive and prepare for them. And ſo they, inſtead of ſending more Labourers into the *Vineyard*, hired (as ſome ſay) Labourers to turn out, or keep out Labourers from entring in. And the Labourers in Penſion were not imployed only in State, but alſo in Church-Work. Their Intereſt was ſo great in that Parliament, as to enact what was reckoned an *Innovation* in ſome Colledges in both Univerſities (by the above named Biſhop *Brownrig* and *Prideaux*, &c. in theſe words; *By introducing Latin Service in the Commiſſion of late in* Oxford, *and into ſome Colledges in* Cambridge, *at Morning and Evening Prayer; ſo that ſome Young Students and Servants in the Colledges do not underſtand their Prayers.* But now the Latin Service may be uſed in any Colledge or Hall, in *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, *Weſtminſter*, *Wincheſter*, and *Eaton*, and *Convocation* of *Clerks*.

Copy of the Proceedings, &c. 1641. Innovation 17.

The

Dr. *Tuckney*, Dr. *Conant*, Dr. *Spurſtow*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Arch. Jackſon*, Mr. *Caſe*, Mr. *S. Clark*, Mr. *New-Commen*, Dr. *Horton*, Dr. *Jacomb* Mr. *Bates*, Mr. *Raulinſon*, D. *Cooper*, Dr. *Lightfoot*, Dr. *Collings*, Mr. *Woodbridge*, Dr. *Drake*, Bp. *Reynolds*.

Bp. *S.* at *Stony-Stratford* in *Bucks*.

The Commiſſioners on the other ſide, muſt be acknowledged Men, of great and ſound Learning, and of more experience in the Paſtoral Office, and had converſed more with great Congregations than the others had, and ſo were more fit to adviſe; as learned Practitioners in Phyſick are fitter to adviſe, and more likely to hit the Temper of the Patient, than a Profeſſor in the Theory. And the account of their Proceedings will to Poſterity, ſhew to the Impartial and Inquiſitive, both their Parts and their Temper. When I read them, I do the leſs wonder at what I heard; that a great Biſhop in his prime Viſitation, ſoon after, did warn his Clergy againſt reading that Book.

†Thus was the Conſtitution laid and built, and it ſtands leaning altogether on the one ſide; and what wonder, that many who ſeem wholly to lean upon it, do cry, *It falls, It falls*, that was not laid upon a larger Foundation. But how did theſe *Maſter-Builders* proceed in the Government of their New-Reſtored Church? It ſeemed to be built no larger than to contain one Family, the genuine Sons of ſuch Fathers: there was but one narrow Door of Admiſſion to it, a ſtrong Lock upon it, the power of the Keys was in truſty hands, and the Sword in the hand of Friends, there was no outward Apartment made to entertain Friends that are not of the Family: But ſome got a falſe Key to the Door, as many call it, a Key of *a large ſenſe*; and when ſome got in, more crouded in; and ſo the *Latitudinarian* in Charity, came in with the *Latitudinarian* in Diſcipline, to the no little grief of ſome who do not like their Company. The Fathers keep above Stairs, and now and then come down among us, and ſend their Officers to viſit us, and have their Watch renewed every year to ſpy us; and they who are without doors, cry, If there be any Love in our Governours to Chriſt, and his divided Flock, that they would but widen the Door, and reform but ill Cuſtoms; but we ſay, we cannot help our ſelves, or them, for the Law will have it ſo. The Law had a Two-edged Sword of Penalties, and ſome of them who took Sword to guard and aſſiſt the Church, having ſpent their heat, grew for the moſt part, cold, and mild, and more *Diſſenters* were ſmitten with the Key than the Sword: And ſo nothing almoſt went on currantly and vigorouſly; for more got into the Communion

munion than ſome would have, and ſo many kept out, that there were too many to be dealt with. Several of the Biſhops having made work for others, and having their Wills, grew very gentle. I begin within my own Knowledge, or good Information. I ſhall not need to ſpeak of Biſhops, *Monk*, and *Gauden*, nor of *Reynolds*, who carryed the Wounds of the Church (in his Heart and Bowels) to his Grave with him, as is well known to many that knew him: but ſpeak of the moſt rigorous at firſt hand. Doctor *Laney*, firſt Biſhop of *Piterborough*, who had made a great buſſle in the croud of aſpiring men in *Cambridge*, till he came up ſeveral Stories, as high as he deſired to be, was very moderate in his Government. In his prime Viſitation (as I have heard one ſpeak that was by) before *Bartholomew*, he told ſome of his Clergy what he came about; and as though he would wipe his hands, ſaid, οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλὰ νόμος; *Not I, but the Law*; and could, (to uſe his own Phraſe to a ſcrupulous Perſon) look through his Fingers, and ſuffer a worthy *Nonconformiſt* to preach publickly very near him, for ſome years together, after his Remove to *Lincoln*.

Mr. Sam. Ainſworth, at Brampton, joyning upon Bugden.

Biſhop *Saunderſon* was ſevere, and troubled long with a ſharp Diſeaſe, which might exaſperate his mind, had a Roll of Miniſters under his angry Eye, deſigned for Diſcipline; but when he drew nigh to his latter End, he commanded that Roll to be burnt, and ſaid, *He would dye in Peace.*

Dr. *Earle*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, was a Man that could do Good againſt Evil, forgive much, and of a charitable Heart, and died, to the no great ſorrow of them, who reckoned his Death was juſt, for labouring all his Might againſt the *Oxford Five-mile Act*.

But moſt remarkable is that Paſſage in the laſt *Teſtament*, Printed both in *Engliſh* and *Latin*, of the Learned Dr. *Coſins*, Biſhop of *Dureſm*, printed with his Funeral Sermon and Life. He leaves a Mark upon the *Preſbyterian*, to ſatisfie us that he was none; but tells the *Church*, That our great and main work is, to Unite. The Paſſage deſerves Tranſcribing, *viz. pag.* 126. *I take it to be my Duty, and of all my Brethren, eſpecially the Biſhops and Miniſters of the Church of God, to do our utmoſt Endeavours, according to the Meaſure of Grace which is given to every one of Us, that at laſt an End may be put to the Differences of Religion, or at leaſt, they may be leſſened*, &c.

And ſome of good Credit, ſay, that Sir *Joſeph Shelden*, when Lord Mayor, adviſed with his Uncle, the Arch-Biſhop, what he ſhould do with

with *Diſſenters*; the Arch-Biſhop gave him this wiſe Anſwer: *You are Lord Mayor of* London, *as I am Arch Biſhop of* Canterbury. And in what ſenſe Sir *Joſeph* took it, the quietneſs of his Year doth explain. He that delighted ſo much in Fiſhing, well knew, that troubling the Waters was not the way to catch Fiſh.

How others of their Order, that are dead, and alive, that managed that Affair, for the ſtanding or ſhaking of this Church, have carryed themſelves in Debates and great Tryals, is better known to others than to me. Only I will crave leave to ſay, That one, at that time but Doctor, hath not conſulted the quiet of peaceable conſidering Men, by provoking Mr. *Baxter* to ſhew Reaſons of his *Nonconformity*, which are too hard for many to anſwer, and unanſwered yet. [*See the Reverend and Good Author of the* Proteſtant Reconciler, *p.* 202 & 205, *&c.*] And it is to no purpoſe to ſet *R.* againſt *B.* and *Baxter* againſt *Baxter*; as if none could anſwer him till he turn *Conformiſt*, and anſwer himſelf; and it will not do, to whiſper, that the man is rude and crack'd; for indeed, the more crack'd he is, the more Kernel is ſeen.

The wiſe and good Biſhop *Wilkins* was a *Man of another* Spirit, and took comfort, in his healing Endeavours, upon his Death Bed. And the Lord, of his infinite Mercy, move and engage their Right Reverend Survivours, and other Eminent Divines of the Church, to lay to Heart our doleful, broken, and declining State, and ſupplicate the King and Parliament to unite and ſtrengthen the Proteſtant Intereſt. A far better work, than to invite the *Nonconformiſts* to come in, as things do ſtands, or to provoke any of them to ſhew cauſe of their *Nonconformity*, which tends but to exaſperate ſome, and to ſhake others out of their own Communion, if they prevent it not. I do not ſpeak at all adventures. If ſome could have executed the Laws, or prevailed with Magiſtrates ſo to do, we ſhould have had a Militant Church indeed. In the year 1669, we had ſeveral Articles ſent down to the Clergy, with private Orders to ſome, to make the Conventiclers as few and inconſiderable as might be. The eighth and laſt, was this, *Whether you do think they might be eaſily Suppreſt by the Aſſiſtance of the Civil Magiſtrate?* Some made bold to anſwer more than *Ay*, or *No*. Since, what Incouragement had a ſort of ſcandalous Perſons to become *Informers*. But God took ſome of theſe into his own hand; ſome cut off, and ſome convinced; and through the gentleneſs of the Civil Magiſtrate, and ſhame of the Office, *Meetings* went

That is, the Diſſenters.

went on, and grew, as they are at this day. —— Some of the *Informers* were ſtruck into an Awe of the Preachers, and manner of their Preaching; others baffled, and ſome, as of *Leiceſterſhire*, died miſerably. *See the Life of Mr.* John Tregoſs, Ch. Gibbons. *See the Narrative in the end of the Fourth Plea.*

I have been large in this Head; I will be ſhorter in the reſt.

4. The fourth conſideration is, the *Qualifications* of their Perſons. They have their faults, no doubt: The *Angels* of the *Churches* are not *Angels* of Heaven. Their Holineſs and Morality is conſpicuous, and they are uſeful many ways in the Common-wealth; and for their Miniſterial Abilities, allowing them but thoſe Grains which no man of Charity denies, and no man of any Abilities can paſs for currant without, they (are men of different ſtatures, it is true, but ſome) are eminent, for variety of excellent and uſeful Learning, and known to the Church of God, by many rare Pieces of Practical Divinity, and Controverſal. Beſides, the many Tracts of particular men, that will be valued while *Chriſtianity* hath any name among Ages to come. See but a Specimen of their Dexterity in Practical Divinity, in thoſe Lectures, called, *The Morning Exerciſes at Cripplegate, and Supplement.* For poſitive, in their Morning Exerciſes at *St. Giles in the Fields*, &c. And their Polemical, in their Morning Exerciſes againſt Popery. And there are very able Divines and Preachers up and down the Land, beſide thoſe that are known in *London*. What Service hath Mr. *Poole's Nullity and Dialogues*, Dr. *Owen's* Anſwer to *Fiat Lux*, Mr. *Baxter's Key for Catholicks*, &c. and Mr. *Clarkſon's Moral Divinity of the Papiſts*, and his Obſervations upon the *Jeſuit's Speeches*, done? What a notable Book is Mr. *Hughes's Man of Sin*? I hope no man will think, that I look upon them as the only Champions in this Cauſe, or extol them, to leſſen or deprive any of our Conforming Worthies of the Honour of their open and hazardous Engagements againſt that Daring Faction. No, but my Soul longs to ſee them all under the ſame Banner, and of the ſame Body, and the ſame Denomination. The meaſures of theſe muſt not be taken from ſome mens Books, who had magnified their Office more, if they had not expoſed and vilified them and their Writings. Are there any mean and weak among them? They may be uſeful, if nouriſhed and improved; but the beſt of them all hath no more Liberty, beſides what he ventures for, than the very meaneſt. I would conclude, humbly propoſing theſe Queries.

Firſt. *Whether it is thought that any of them are enabled from above, with Miniſterial Abilities; and inſtructed to the Kingdom of God?*

I will not deſcend ſo low as our Legal Rule of Tryal; Are they fitted

for the *Miniſterial Office*? Have they underſtanding in the Scripture? Skill in Original and other uſeful Learning? Are they Orthodox in Judgment, free from Hereſie? Do they conſent to the avowed Doctrines of the *Church of England*? Have they the Gift of Utterance? Are they willing, and deſirous to ſerve in the Goſpel of Chriſt? No doubt, but from the oldeſt to the youngeſt of them, they will ſubmit to an Examination, if thought neceſſary to their Admiſſion. Beſides the full proof that many of them have given, even to an Excellency, above moſt of our Brethren. What of all this? will be ſaid unto me, They diſſent from the Diſcipline, Government and Legal Worſhip. I ask again, Are they for any Eſſential, Fundamental Parts of Apoſtolical, truly Primitive Church-Government? Will they promiſe to adminiſter all the Ordinances of the Goſpel, as Chriſt enjoyned them; as the Apoſtles and their next Succeſſors did celebrate them (as nearly as can be learned from undoubted and currant Hiſtory?) The Chief of them ſay, they can, and it is that they contend for. Laſtly, I ask; Do we think that Chriſt would have ſent them out to Preach, or forbad them, the Apoſtles have given them the Right Hand of Fellowſhip, or not? Would St. *Paul* have rejoyced that the Goſpel was Preached by them, or not?

Then Secondly, I Query; *Whether any that are intruſted by Jeſus Chriſt, in the Overſight of his Church, and Adminiſtration of Government and Diſcipline in it, can forbid ſuch Men to Miniſter in his Church?*

Doth not here ſeem to be a Repugnancy between Chriſt and his Officers, in his Church? He fits and qualifies men with Gifts and Furniture for his Churches Edification and Good, who ſtand in need of them; makes them willing to ſpend, and to be ſpent, but the Governours of the Church will not admit them in, but caſt them out; and by their Cannon, judge them Excommunicate: ſo, whom Chriſt ſends, they refuſe. Whoſe Will ſhould ſway, the Maſter of the Family, Chriſt or his Stewards? But it will be Objected, *They will not Conform to the Church, as Eſtabliſhed by Law; and better the Church ſhould looſe their Labours, than the Hedge of Government ſhould be thrown down for them:* Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Irenic. *p.* 42. ſays, *The Magiſtrate cannot forbid true Doctrine to be Preached.*

I humbly offer, 1. Whether any ſuch Laws ſhould be made, ſtand in force; or executed againſt men ſound in Doctrine, and inabled by Chriſt to ſerve him? 2. Whether this Form of Government, with all its Accidentals required, to which they cannot conform, be that Form of Conſtitution, with the Accidentals, Rites, and Ceremonies, to which they

they must submit, or else be deprived, according to the Mind of Christ? I go upon this Supposition, That as all particular Laws of the Church must agree with the general Rules of Christ, so not to be imposed to the damage of Believers. 3. Whether the *Apostolical Church-Practice* be not rather a Rule to all succeeding Ages to follow, than the Fourth Age, which waxed wanton in Ceremonies, and cast those Ceremonious Shadows from her Body, because the Sun of Imperial Favour and Prosperity did shine upon her? 4. I humbly offer, that supposing that the present Church-Frame of Government, Discipline, Worship and Ceremonies, (which as it is with the scrupled Assents, and Additions, and Penalties, is no older than 1662) be as near as may be to the Prime Primitive *Apostolical Church*; for all this, whether there be no way to be used, or taked with the *Non-conforming* Brethren (suppose them all under an Errour, as to this particular of Church Government and Ceremonies) but to silence them, to forbid them to Preach, upon such Penalties? Or ought nor the Governours of the Church, out of respect to their Master *Jesus Christ*, and to the Gifts and Graces which he hath given to them, and thereby commended them in his Name, to the Acceptation of his Flock, to find out some way to render them useful to the Service of his People? I do suppose, that all, whom Christ hath qualified with Abilities, and made willing, and that have dedicated themselves to his Service, ought to be received and imployed. (And may I speak and write it trembling) Is there not implyed a Wo to them that hinder, as well as to them that Preach not the Gospel?

Objection. *But they are disobedient to the Law of the Land*, &c.

I Answer, To the Temporal Laws? they submit to them. To the Temporal Laws requiring Conformity? I make bold to ask, Are any forbidden by that Law, to Preach, *&c.* whom Christ hath fitted for it? Then ought not that Law to be Revised and Repealed? Are there no Conditions or Terms required by that Law, but such as are strictly the Terms which Christ (by whom the *Christian Magistrate* bears Rule) hath directed them to make, for all that shall enter into the Church? If so, then it must be a Law of the *Medes* and *Persians*: But there is no such thing pretended. This Law was not given in the *Mount*.

There is no Temporal Law, but is nulled, or amended, when it appears detrimental to the Common-wealth; and why not, when to the Church.

Object. *But the Church needs them not, and there are more in the Universities*

verſities and Countries, and *Cities, that will conform, than the Revenue of the Church will maintain.*

Anſwer 1. It is one thing to admit our Non-conforming Brethren to the Preferments of the Church, and another to the Service of the Church; admit them firſt, and God will provide for them in time: I believe they deſire not that any man ſhould be diſplaced for them.

2. Put them into a capacity for the Diſcharge of the *Miniſterial Office*, for which they are prepared, and many of them have Epiſcopal Ordination already.

3. He that ſaith there are too many Labourers for the Work of Chriſt in the Church, muſt hold, that Chriſt gives Gifts ſuperfluous, and gives Talents to them that have no place to Trade with them, or knows not the weight of the Paſtoral Charge, or the great need of Souls, and of more help.

4. If there be ſuch ſtore of *Miniſters*, that there is no room, it would be acceptable to Chriſt, to take care of Forreign Plantations. But alas! How many go aſtray for want of Shepherds! [*See Mr.* Goodwin's *Negroes Advocate.*]

Laſtly; I doubt not, but it is in the power of our Church Governours, to make a great Change for the great Advantage of the Church; ſome of them have a great Influence upon the Legiſlation; many have Intereſt in, if not, great Freedom with the Great Men in Power, Opportunities to ſpeak for the *Mourning Church*, and to ſhew them what is good; which would more become the Miniſters of Chriſt, than to expoſe the Infirmities of the *Nonconformiſts*, or miſ report their Doings. If in the preſent Exigence and Dangers of the Church, (which they are ſenſible of, becauſe of our Diviſions, or elſe many would not invite them in, or condemn them for keeping out) Our Great men in the Church do not all that in them lyes, to procure our Peace; they are like to anſwer for it to the Prince of Peace. They that urge the Law againſt their Brethren, muſt either convince them of the Goodneſs of every Point required by Law, which they can never do, as that to which they ought, upon peril of their Salvation, to ſubmit; or elſe declare their Grief, that with all their Importunities, Prayers, and Favour with men in Power, they cannot get the Law made eaſie; or elſe this lyes againſt them, that many of the Church procured the Law, which was enacted upon their Advice, and to gratifie them: and if ſo, then they but for a time conceal their own Uncharitableneſs, under the Wing of a Law, which is pleaſing to them. It is evident to all that have Eyes to ſee, and that have two Eyes to ſee withal, who hath

gotten

gotten by this Uniformity. If it be ſaid, that *Popery* hath got by *Non-conformity*, they will readily reply, Who made them *Non-conformiſts*? They gave them warning of the Danger, and did all that was in the power of loyal, peaceable, honeſt men, for Unity and Peace. For my part, I cannot reply, nor confute their Vindication. And ſo much for this Head.

5. Conſider their Behaviour ſince their unhappy Ejection, under their many Sufferings. That their Sufferings have been great, is notorious to them that know them, or have Chriſtian Bowels in them. To what end ſhall I make a diſtribution of them, into Spirituals, into Temporals, into Perſonal and Domeſtical? They are condemned for making a Separation; of all men in the Land, they have the greateſt cauſe to be for Union, and againſt Separation! They have ſuffered many cutting Separations. Such as from the Magiſtrates Favour and good Opinion, from their Beloved Congregations; from their Habitations and Maintenance; from their Libraries and Studies; from their own Friends, eſpecially the Worldly-wiſe; from their former Familiars; from their Wives and Children. Abundance of them have been made of the Order of *Mendicants*, to eat other Mens Bread, to wear other Mens Cloaths, and to procure their own Liberty, and to diſpoſe of their Children to Callings with other Mens Money and Charity. Theſe things indeed are nothing to them that have no Sences! Have they ſuffered in their Names, in their Liberties, Impriſonment, where they got their Deaths, as above-ſaid? It hath been a dear Separation to them! The Non-conformity hath loſt ſome Miniſters many thouſand pounds. And what have all theſe things been for? For their own Faults, Humours, Factious Nature? *&c.* Have none of them any Wit, Reaſon, Policy, Religion, Conſcience? Are all ſo nought, or ſo fooliſh, ſuch Babes or Mad-men, that they hate Peace, hate their Wives and Children, and their own Fleſh? Or, cannot chooſe what's beſt, a good Living, or a naſty Priſon, or be in peril of it? O that we would forbear to Judge our Fellow-Servants! They declare plainly and truly, they cannot conform to the preſent Conſtitution: Who ſhould beſt know that, They or We? Will it follow, we can, therefore they may? Or, that good Men have, therefore all good Men can? Two things have been declared by them.

They that think them to be againſt a Church-Government, becauſe they can't conform to all particulars in this, are much miſtaken.

1. That

1. That they cannot forbear their Ministry; Preach they must. *See the Apologie for their Preaching, in the Third Plea.*

2. As dear as Preaching is to them, and the Magistrates Favour, and a Portion of the settled Maintenance, yet they cannot comply on the Legal Terms.

But, have they attempted their Liberty by any treacherous Conspiracies? Have they Preached Seditiously? Or been *Achans* in the Camp, or *Nadabs*, or *Abihu's*? They ask no Favour but common. They may say, as that excellent Mr. *Joseph Allen*, in his gallant Speech (wise, humble, and full) to the Judge, when sentenced to pay a *hundred Mark*, and lye in Prison till it was paid; *He was glad that it had appeared, before his Country, that whatsoever he was charged with, he was guilty of nothing but doing his Duty; and that all that did appear by the Evidence, was only, That he had sung a* Psalm, *and instructed his Family, others being there, and both in his own House; and that if nothing which had been urged would satisfie, he should, with all chearfulness and thankfulness, accept whatsoever Sentence his Lordship should pronounce upon him, for so good and righteous a Cause.* [Life of Mr. *Joseph Allen*, pag. 59.]

Object. *But some of them gather Churches, Preach in time of publick Service, and are ill tempered Men*, &c.

Ans. I meddle not in this, as it is a matter of Controversy, stated and agitated by different Perswasions: but as it is a matter of Complaint; and so, I say, we ought to do all that good Men can do, for one Mind, one way, to narrow Controversies, by enlarging Conditions of Communion.

2. Many cannot help Preaching in time of Publick Service.

1. Because, else they cannot Preach at all, for the distance of their Auditors.

2. Against their Wills they are constrained, because many that refuse to hear the Publick Ministers, would be drawn to *Meetings* of *Quakers*: And this was one reason which good Dr. *Staunton* in particular, gave for his Preaching at St. *Albans* at such times. So, many of the *Nonconformists* are a second *Sieve*; if they Preach not, much Corn would fall to the gathered Heaps of other Dissenters.

3. Seeing they are under an Obligation of Preaching, in one sense, the more publick their Preaching is, the better; for then they will be sure to Preach nothing but what all may hear. *See this Proved in the Second Plea.*

4. The Law makes no difference between publick and their own Houses

Houſes, if they exceed Four. If therefore they judge themſelves (and none can better judge than themſelves) obliged to Preach upon peril of the Law, they take the more publick Places, no greater Penalties being to be ſuffered for that, than a meer private Corner.

Laſtly, Hath any of them ſuffered as an Evil Doer? (taking evil doing in the common ſenſe) or deſerved to ſuffer theſe eighteen Years? Have they not aſſerted the Common-Intereſt? Sought the publick Welfare? Oppoſed Popery? And been as obedient Subjects to the King as any other, ſave only in this controverted Point? What pity is it that the Boſom of the Church were not as open and as large as the Kings gracious Protection is to them, as leading peaceable and quiet Lives, in all Godlineſs and Honeſty!

What though they complained! have they ſenſe, or are they ſtupid! Have they ſtirred Sedition, and diſtracted the Government? Taken the advantage of a horrid Plot to play their own Game? Or laid a Countermine? (as it pleaſed one of our Moderators, or Plot-diſcoverers, to entitle his Book) —— If they are ſo gracious with the rich Tradeſmen, and Populace, it ſhall be to their Honour, and is to their Comfort, that they have made no other uſe of the Goodneſs of the People, than to ſave their Souls. How glad ſhould all true *Proteſtants* be, that the *Preſbyterian Plot*, is fallen, together with their own *Popiſh Plot*, upon the ſame Pates! Or was the Separation of the *Nonconformiſts*, the Door by which *Popery* was entring in? Then indeed the Door muſt be ſtopt up by all means. But by this time it is but too apparent, and with grief be it written, that the *Church of England* had bred ſome Birds, that do pluck out her Eyes. The Heifers always went in the Church-yard, with which the *Papiſts* plowed; ſhameleſs Hypocrites that cryed up the Church, to throw it down!

Not to multiply *Objections* and *Anſwers*. It is, or may be clear, that nothing but Conſcience of Sin and Duty doth govern the Learned, Judicious, and Honeſt *Nonconformiſts*. I ſuppoſe there are many of them that deſerve theſe Characters: and becauſe they are governed by their Judgments and Conſciences; it is the great Duty of Governours to have reſpect to them, and to take away all occaſions of our bleeding Diviſions; it is in the Power of our Governours to remove the Cauſes, and not in them. If the Judgments and Conſciences of our Governours be to walk ſtrictly, according to the Rule and Meaſure of our Conformity, and cannot relax, nor remove any part of it; and the Judgment of the *Nonconformiſts* be, that they cannot come up to it; then the Diviſions muſt remain as now they are, and the Deciſion be deferred

red to the last coming of Jesus Christ. But may it not be decided before that? For where hath Christ made the Governours Consciences, the exact measure of other Ministers? But our Laws declare most of the things in Controversy, to be in their own nature indifferent, and mutable; and therefore it is in their Power to take away both the Things, and the Obligation to them; and to bind us only to the Observation of necessary things, and to leave things which they found indifferent, as they found them, without Judging one another. And for this reason, Wisdom and Charity requires a relaxation upon their Parts; and they have this to plead for them, that they have long tryed to bring Ministers and People to an Uniformity in these things, but could not; and therefore for Peace, and Love, Unity, and Edification, they have taken away their Obligation.

That the *Nonconformists* cannot subscribe, and declare, and subject themselves to this Yoke (how easie soever it seems to many) because they cannot in their Judgment and Conscience approve and do them, needs no great labour to prove it, to any Man of Charity.

1. Because their Interest, as well as Duty, hath put them upon the serious study of the Case. And being men of Learning, Light, Labour, and of Years, they may be supposed as fit to find out their own part, as other men to find it for them. And to any that hath but the desire to see, patience to read, and that thinks not to throw them off with a scornful Huff; they have written like men of Parts, Judgments, and Temper. And they dayly almost send abroad into the World, the Issues of serious Thoughts, and ripe Understandings and Appearances of great Seriousness and Resolution.

Besides Mr. Baxter, *Mr.* Corbet, *and others, The Sacred Hierarchy, and the small Treatise of Scandal, and Indifferent Things, give evidence of close and deep investigation of things. Mr.* Barret, *Mr.* Firmin, *&c.*

2. They do not follow the Dictates of a weak and erring Conscience, but fear to sin against a tender Conscience, upon the best information of their Judgments. There is a great difference between a weak Conscience and a tender Conscience; a weak Conscience follows a weak Judgment, and the clearer and stronger the Judgment is, the more tender should the Conscience be. It may therefore seem, that their dissent proceeds not from their Weakness, and that their obstinacy proceeds not from their Will, as opposing Light and Reason; but from the settlement and determination of their Judgment and their Sincerity, not daring to act against their Judgments. But if it were

their

their Weakneſs, it muſt be indulged; if it wear their Obſtinacy againſt Reaſon, (which appears not) what will a wiſe Father do with a ſtomachful Child? Will he provoke and encreaſe his Stomach, by requireing of him needleſs things with great rigour, and not rather qualifie and win him?

3 If it be not Conſcience of Sin that makes them diſſent, it is either their Policy for ſome worldy Intereſt, or their Folly. If the firſt, then it cannot conſiſt with worldly Policy, to take ways directly contrary to what they aim at. What honour is it for a Man to be railed upon, reviled, ſuſpected? *&c.* What Profit is it for a Man to quit a Certainty for an Uncertainty? and to live Precariouſly? Where the Policy of *Non-Conformity* lies, doth not appear to me. Is it their Folly? Are there no wiſe Men among them? not one! They have had Experience by this time to make them wiſe, if nothing elſe. If they are Fools, it is for *Chriſt*. They come not behind their Neigbours for Wit, and Abilities.

4. What, but Conſcience of Sin and Duty, could afford them that Peace and Joy, in Diſgraces and Sufferings, in Hazards, both living and dying! You'l ſay *Fanaticiſm* may end in fancied Joy and Comforts. True, but theſe Men could as well diſtinguiſh between the Effects of Imagination, and Self-examination, between a Rock and Sand, and have taken as much pains to avoid a Cheat, as other men. It muſt be granted, that many that have drawn Sufferings upon themſelves deſervedly, by their Imprudence, have flattered themſelves in high Conceits, and conceited Comforts. But whether the Sufferings of Men of underſtanding, ripeneſs of Judgment, Inquiſitiveneſs into their Caſe, their Reaſons, Motives, and after Prayer and Diligence, have deliberately choſen a ſuffering Part, and found Comfort from the Conſcience of their Sincerity, be no more than the Comfort of a Hypocrite under the Power of Deluſion, let the conſcientious Judge?

5. If they are not conſcientious in their *Non-conformity*, then they are diſobedient to the King, and the Laws; they are Factious Diſturbers of the Churches Peace, Schiſmatical, and Enemies to the Churches Groweth and Union: they are Hypocritical, and in a word Atheiſtical; they are unrighteous, unkind, unmerciful to their own Fleſh, to their Wives and Children, oppreſſive to thoſe few that are liberal to them; yea, many have deſtroyed themſelves, and no leſs then this can be ſaid of their Way, that it is the high way of Sin and certain Damnation. And if they are ſuch wicked Perſons, ſuch Hypocrites in Masks and Cloaks, they are but uſed too well; and better they ſhould be out of

the Church then in it. But then to bring them off from theſe horrid Imputations; theſe things are conſiderable;

1. If they were not Men of Intergrity and Conſcience, they would not keep without, becauſe there is more to be got within. Doubtleſs they are not the only conſcientious Men; for there are many thouſands I hope, of ſincere, good Men that Conform, that have Peace and Comfort in a faithful diſcharge of their Duties. But I ſay, if our Diſſenting Brethren were not conſcientious, and ſincere, then they would ſwallow Oaths or Declarations, and ſubſcribe even to Salt and Spittle, for the ſake of the preſent World. He that acts not with reſpect to the World to come, muſt needs act for the good things of of this. Now 'tis clear that the *Conformiſts* have the higher Honour and Precedence, and the fatteſt Morſels.

2. Our *Nonconformiſts* have a better Character, and are looked upon as Conſcientious Men, and fit for the Churches Service; 1. Becauſe of the due Reſpect, and Repute they have among Men of Parts, Eſtates and Temper. 2. Becauſe of the many Invitations, and even Chidings to unite and come in: which ſuppoſeth them to be men of Worth and Goodneſs, or elſe the further off the better. 3. Becauſe of the oft vaniſhing talk of an Indulgence in the firſt Years of their *Non-Conformity*, *Comprehenſion* ſince, and *fair Promiſes* often made. 4. Becauſe that many Juſtices of the Peace angry enough for the Church, and not pleaſed with them, have forborn to act againſt them, and could not find in their Hearts to execute the Laws upon Conſcientious Men, though of different Apprehenſions. My Concluſion is; That they appear to be Men of Conſcience; and if ſo, way ſhould be made for their coming in. One thing is urged to prejudg their tenderneſs, that Conſcientious Men ſhould come as far as they can, and as neer a cloſure as may be. Ah! what though they can do much, yet as to actual Admiſſion, It is not doing ſome or many things that will bring them in; for they muſt declare and ſubſcribe to all and every thing. I knew a Man of Years and Parts, that could conform to all things, ſave the Croſs, and loſt near 200 *l. per Annum*, for that It is all or nothing in this caſe. If we would bring them in, take down the norrow Doors, and makes them a Paſſage of juſt Dimenſion and Latitude. Upon theſe Premiſes, That the Caſe of the Diſſenting Brethren is hard, that what they demanded, or propoſed upon the Kings Commiſſion, to the Biſhops and the Commiſſioners for the Church, were but what was thought fit to be conſidered of by Men, no doubt of as great Learning, and other Qualifications, as any other of the ſame Quality; That their Sufferings

have

have been very great, their Demeanour peaceable, their Abilities valuable, and their Diſſent conſcientious. I do humbly conclude, and propoſe it to my Reverend Superiours, in any place of Power, Favour or Intereſt, that they would ſincerely endeavour the qualifying of theſe worthy Perſons, for a legal diſcharge of their Miniſterial Duties: A thing ſo pleaſing to God, agreeable to the Government and Condeſcention of *Jeſus Chriſt*, to the Chriſtian Temper, ſo conducing to the Churches Union, Peace, Growth and Eſtabliſhment: to the ſilencing of many Controverſies, and that fearful Clamour and Accuſation of Schiſm that I am not able to expreſs it. I cannot, it is acknowledged, judge what is another Mans particular Duty: but I humbly conceive it is mine in my Place (which is but low indeed) to provoke any Superiour to it. And if I were in their Place (which is but a Suppoſition next to a Dream) I ſhould neither eat, nor drink, nor ſleep with Satisfaction, till this were done, or endeavoured: nor think of appearing before *Jeſus* the Chief Shepherd, with Joy or Acceptation. Hath he required this Uniformity at our hands, of this Extent, with theſe Sanctions, haveing for many Years ſeen no better Effects of them?

Hath not his Gracious Majeſty by a late Proclamation for a great and neceſſary Duty of Faſting and Prayers, made this one end of that Solemn Duty, to unite the Hearts of his Proteſtant Subjects? Have we not in one Prayer repreſented the bleeding wounds from our Diviſions and in another, prayed for Union? Have many taken Direction to wreſtle with God, (Laugh and Scorn who dare at the Word) to grant us that Bleſſing? And what was the meaning of it? Was no more to be underſtood by it, than to bring the Diſſenting Brethen on a ſudden to ſee, what after many Years Study, Prayers and Sufferings they cannot ſee? On a ſudden to convert them againſt their Reaſon? And to condemn themſelvs for their Diſſent? Surely, I cannot think it: for what were this but to pray for an Impoſſibility or a Miracle, and to pray in vain, in our Solemn Humiliation! If Union be ſo deſireable a Mercy, as certainly it is; what ſhall we do for Union? Are there no other Terms of Union but theſe? Without doubt it is their great Sin, not to come as near to a Cloſure as Poſſibly they can; but doth all the Duty lie on their ſide? and no more upon us than to call them in? And if not, let them be excommunicated from the Church, if not accurſed of God! Or where they never meant, as being no Proteſtants? or not Loyal Subjects? And what are they that ſay or think ſo? The Lord in Mercy grant, we may not ſee ſuch a Trial, as I doubt not they would by the Grace of God as forwardly engaged in, as true

Protestants, and as Loyal Subjects to the King and Goverment, to the Expence and Profusion of their dearest Blood, as any other.

I cannot think any thing more suitable to the Clemency of the King's Nature, who hath always been ready to gratifie peaceable Designs. Can we think it is not suitable to the Constitution of the late Great, and United Parliament, or to any other that shall be chosen by a free Election? This great Body hath as quick discerning Eyes as ever any other had, and have made as deep Discoveries of the Works of Darkness as any other, for their time: and see a necessity of uniting Protestants at home, and succouring Protestants abroad; and cannot they discern, by what Persons, whose Endeavours, to whose purpose out Constitutions have been screwed so high? They are not unsensible by whom they have been called a Presbyterian Parliment, and who are afraid of their undoing all: Perhaps indeed they would think it hard measure, that every man in *England* should be turned out of Doors, that will not be content that his House shall be exactly Uniform. They may by Experience know that there may be Peace and Unity, and Charity in Houses, that are of different Figure and Form. There is a vast difference between pulling down painted Glass, which keeps out Light, and making Doors wider, or taking down some Partitions, and pulling down Houses. Oh! let it never be said, that Chruch-Men are most morose, difficult, and stiff, and can grant nothing, but in a great Extremity.

And I pray God that he would move, and effectually work upon their Hearts, to take the Opportunities and Advantages God puts into their Hands, to supplicate and promote the great Work of Healing. It will be a Work most pleasing to all *Conformists*, that have the truest Principles of Christianity, that are not factious, to keep what they have, or think the gain of Peace to the Church, will bring a loss to any of them; or that are not Melancholy, and given to pore upon Shadows, and to think their Fancies to be the unalterable Frame of Antiquity. If we cannot distinguish between an Alteration and a Dissolution; between Reformation (of what hath been changed one way or other, in every Princes Reign, since the 2d of *Edw.* 6.) and an Extirpation, we are not Cathedral men, that know the Note may be changed, and, the Instrument unbroken, and that the same *Psalm* may be read and sung.

Many cry out upon *Schism*, that miss of the Notion; It is a very great Sin! Should we not therefoe do what possibly we can, to remove the Causes, and to redeem Souls from the Sin and Guilt of it? To this end, let us take notice, that the Carnal Heart is the Seat of

Schism.

Schism. Are there no Schismatical Notions, or Passions and Lusts in us within the Pale? We know that *Uniformity* in Discipline and Modes of Worship, could not extinguish, or restrain Divisions in former dayes. How was the Church divided between those two, the prevailing and rising *Arminian* Innovators, and the *Anti-Arminian* Propugnators of the Doctrine and antient Discipline of the Church? And the Feuds were greater between these, in many Respects, than between the *Conformist* and *Non-conformist*. And the straining of the Girdle of *Uniformity* burst the Buckles, and the Garments hung loose, till by a new Act, the Girdle was made stronger, and less then it was before, and new Buckles made on purpose for it. ——

There is an Unity, where there is not an Uniformity, and *Vice versa*. To what Church in *London* can a man go, and find an Uniformity, exactly keeping with Rubricks, and Orders? and yet there is a *Conformity*, and in general an *Unity*. I might instance in Ministers, and Peoples deviating from the Rule in Prayers. What Uniformity among the People? some standing, others kneeling, and others leaning, if not sitting; Some facing the *East*, others the *West*, and others the *North* and *South*; some use the Responds, some low, and others loud, and others silent, and yet there may be an Unity in the *Amen*, either oral or mental. *Uniformity* will never be forced to Particulars, it must lie in Generals, as Unity in Essentials. God both in the works of Nature, Providence and Grace, is most glorious in variety, in Multiformity. Uniformity, as it is an outward manifestation of Unity, and as an help to Unity and Edification, & Peace, is most desirable, but too rigorous pressing of it, is one cause of *Schism*, and *Contention*. To a clear stating of a *Schism*, we must enquire into the Church as invisible, visible as in its one Essential Nature, separate from Legal Establishment, and in its Legal Establishment; and accordingly distinguish of *Schism*, which is aggravated from Circumstances. In our days *Non-conformity* and *Schism* are made convertible, whereas the Internal Causes may be in *Conformists*, as well as *Non-conformists*. But what is the external Bond and Ligature of *Conformity*? what makes the *Conformist*, and what makes the *Non-conformist*? Take away the Mound and Pale; and the Inclosure, and the Open-field is all one Field for the Flocks to feed together. Some have extolled the Act of Uniformity as a blessed Act; and some as the Bulwark of the Protestant Religion. It must be acknowledged, that is is a Blessing to the Church, to have nursing Fathers, and to have our Religion Established by Law. But he that is the Author and Founder of our Religion is, the Bulwark also, and the

King's

King's Life and Conſtancy is a wonderful Mercy to us: But alas! what a Fence is the Act, if the Governours were changed? The Proteſtant Religion as Chriſtian, as oppoſite to Popery, was before the Act was, and would be, if it were reviſed and changed. (The moſt that can be made of the Separations, is, that they are illegal and the aggravated *Shiſm* illegal) From this the *Conformiſt* and *Non-conformiſt* receive their Denominations. Before this, were Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Dr. *Anneſly*, Mr. *Gouge* and others, *Shiſmaticks* any more than the learned Dr. *Tillotſon* or Mr. *Neſt*? They could edifie the Church together, carry on the Morning Exerciſe together, and converſe as Brethren. But ſince a new Door and Parition hath been ſet up, they appear to be as two Families, and two Parties (I doubt not but the Dean's Catholick Head and Heart can take them in.) If they hear him not, perhaps they may incur the angry mark of Separation, if he hear any of them, he may incur a diſpleaſure, Take away the Doors, and partition-walls, and the Houſe is one again. And there are great ſuſpitions that the Surveyors made the Doors for Excluſion, and not a large Admiſſion.

1. If you conſider; that which was an offenſive Innovation to a *Brownrig*, *Ward*, *Prideaux*, &c. (*quanti viri*!) is now made Legal, *viz.* the ſervice in *Latin* in the Univerſites, *Weſtminſter*, *Wincheſter*, *Eaton*, when they pleaſe, as was noted before.

2. The *Non-conformiſt* of old ſtuck at Subſcriptions, *ex animo*, to the Canon; but by this they muſt ſubſcribe to more and declare,

3. Not only to Articles of Religion (which was enough for a *Conformiſt* in Queen *Elizabeths* days) but all and every thing, *&c.* Was it probable that they who ſcrupled the One Injunction would Conform to all, and more then was before enjoyned?

4. Did ſome think that Biſhops and Presbyters were but one Order? Now the Biſhops are conſecrated in a new Form, to the Office of a Biſhop, as a Superiour Order; at leaſt as ſome conceive.

5. Many had taken the Covenant, which renounced not the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and by virtue of theſe conjunctly, did adhere to Kingly Government, under the Uſurpation, and endeavoured to reſtore the King. But that muſt be renounced, Will they for Peace and Union quit the Directory, and conform to a Liturgy? It ſhall not bring them in! Would they have the Liturgy amended? They ſhall not, but in as few things as may be. Can they uſe the Ceremonies rather then be deprived? They muſt declare openly Aſſent and Conſent to them. Can they practiſe the old Conformity? They muſt do more.

more. Would they become Lecturers, as heretofore they might be? No, not except they read Common Prayer, &c. declare Assent and Consent to it once a month. If one thing will not keep them out, another shall. If nothing at all will keep them out, then they are hardly trusted without great proofs.

That Honour of his Profession, and our Age, and either the Example, or the Shame of them that shall succeed, Sir. *Matthew Hales*, (said to Mr. *Baxter*, on whose word I take it) this Act of Uniformity will never unite and heal us; and did upon occasion draw up a new Bill of Uniformity His Judgment might as soon be taken as any Mans; and because his Memory and Manuscripts, are in honour with our late, wise, and great Parliament, will deserve a Reverend Inspection, because drawn up by such a Person, for so great an use.

Here I could stop without the Decency of Conclusion, my running thoughts being put to a stand, and ready to yield to a prevailing Impotency and grief of Heart.

First, because so few Heads and Hands were united, and at work, to repaire the Breaches of a great Church, which should be every Good Man's Prayer and Endeavour.

Secondly, Because the Result of the Debates and Counsels of, though but few, yet great, wise and good Men, should be rejected by that Party in the Parliament, that was then too insensible of our condition, and too far ingaged.

But why should we look for better from those Men, who saw not what they had done amiss, nor repented of other great Evils, which the Nation hath seen and felt, and some of themselves have seen, too late, alas! too late, except to repent. When Men's Principles are but as Wheels moved by *Interest*, the *Interest* must be changed before the Wheels turn backward: Souldiers of Fortune prolong a War, and Counsellors of Fortune prolong Distractions. The Troublers of *Israel*, that put the Horsemen into Disorder, and scotch'd the Wheels of many of our Chariots, were never for the drawing of them into one Body again, and making them serviceable. Some great and good Men checked the Progress of the rest, and at last the best overawed the Guilty, and did gallantly bear up against daring *Rome*: But the Opposition had been the more successful and secure, if they had brought the differing Parties of *Protestants* into a mutual Trust and Assurance. Blessed be the Men, and blessed be their Memories, and blessed be their Counsels, who have laboured to heal the hurt of the Daughter of *Sion!* And happy are they who first arrive at the Haven, though upon the Planks of a torn and broken Church! The Men of a *Mosaic* Spirit,

would

would have set the contending *Israelites* at one, but our wise men would not receive a Bill of Union, drawn and prepared by the great Lord Chief Justice *Hales*. They who had done the wrong, thrust the Reconcilers away, *q. d. Who made you Judges?* But our Time was not, and is not yet come, although we have had a great Body, inspired with as great a Soul as ever breathed within those Walls, that saw a like necessity of including *Protestants*, as of excluding *Papists*. These saw the things of our Peace, but could not overtake it. *Perfidious Protestants* (so called in the Humble Address, *Nov.* 29, 1680) could not find the way of Peace in his Majesties Restauration, it was as far above them, as Heaven is above the Earth; nor knew how to imploy the Sword and Treasure but against *Protestants* abroad; nor their Power, but upon *Protestants* at home, who helped to restore them to it; nor their Peace, but in Effeminacy, Debaucheries, Contempt of God, and the Power of that Religion, which they either contracted into an uneasie corner of a Faction, or else enlarged as far as *Rome*. And they who reared too high a Wall about the Church, have not seen the Influence of the Sun upon it, to impregnate it into a desired Fruitfulness; the few Plants of a purer kind that spring up in it, look pale and yellow, faint and languid: There is a great noise and sound of Religion, but little Life and Soul! What a Brood of *Atheists*, *Papists*, *Zealous Formalists*, and *Contenders* have grown up? And the Church, which was the most pregnant Mother of solid and holy Christians of any in the World, after many years Travel and Pains, sees more of the Shame and Form, than of the lively Spirit and Strength of true Piety.

They may read their Character in his Majestie's Proclamation against Debaucheries, 1660, Printed, and to be read in Churches.

Take in more Labourers, there is Field-room enough, and the Harvest will be the greater, and so the Joy in Heaven will be the greater.

But when Ignorance and Unbelief, and the Effects of them, *Superstition* and *Profaneness* increase, as they will, by silencing convincing Preachers, the Joy in Heaven is diminished, and Sorrows upon Earth are multiplyed. The silencing of, suppose but a hundred or two able Preachers in one Age, is a far greater Loss than can be recompenced with the Conformity of a greater number that have not the Gift and Spirit of Preaching, Conversion and Salvation.

And for this cause, I cannot but conceal my Lamentation, for the great stop that hath been put upon the Labours of some hundreds of excel-

excellent good Preachers, to the increaſe of Troubles upon Earth and hinderance of Joy in Heaven.

But to draw to a Concluſion; I entreat the Reader to obſerve, that after my Papers went out of my hands, they came not back till they were Printed a firſt and ſecond time: So that I had no opportunity to correct, ſave ſome Errata's of the *Preſs*; and now I crave pardon. If any good Men have not liked ſome Expreſſions in the former Editions, which were too much feathered with levity of Expreſſions. I noted two things, as a Reſerve to the Body of the Diſcourſe.

1. The general Inclination that appeared at that time, towards a Forbearance of Penalties upon *Diſſenters*, and to a happy Union in a ſafe and well bounded Latitude; and how this Inclination came to be ſo publick.

2. I obſerved who were moſt averſe from, or indiſpoſed towards ſo happy a Compoſition of our Differences known in the World, that there is no need of a Deſcription of them.

1. Wiſe men will obſerve, and all men that are in place of Power, would do well to obſerve the general Inclination of the moſt pious *Proteſtants*, that have an everlaſting Intereſt in *Chriſtianity*, and embrace it upon its own Account, without reſpect to the Temporal Profits of it, and that can no more deſert it in its Cadency and Afflicted State, than their own Souls. This general Inclination and Propenſity is beſt ſeen, when the dangers of Religion are diſcerned, and men may ſpeak their minds with the greateſt Freedom. Such dangers did of late appear, and ſuch a time there was for open Speech. And then the Diſcourſe of an Union of *Diſſenting Proteſtants* was entertained with a general Approbation and Joy, except by ſuch that think we are as well already, and cannot be better. Our high and well ſettled Clergy may apprehend there is a Change in the Minds of many of the Friends of the *Church of England*, within theſe ten, or dozen years, or more. Not that they are leſs reſolved in their Religion, but leſs fond of dividing Accidentals, which will not by their uſe and goodneſs, ſatisfie for the loſs of Peace and Union. About the year 1660, too many having too little ſenſe and experience of the life of Religion, had but low thoughts of too many ſound, practical, profitable Preachers; and perhaps, becauſe too many could not endure to hear, themſelves reproved and condemned, could too eaſily part with them, and give them up to the pleaſures of them that had the Power to determine what muſt be obeyed, that is in effect, who ſhould be taken in

and who should be cast off out of the Service of God. But had many Places known their Loss, they would have sate in Ashes, humbling their Souls, and making Supplication to God and Governours to spare them. And many can never be estranged from them in Affection, though they may be forced from the Enjoyment of their Labours. Again, some Church Divines kept up the Repute of the Church in its Depression, as to Learning and fine Preaching, that lost it, and their own Reputation in its Exaltation. The Learned Lord *Faulkland*, compared some to *Æsop's Hen.* —— at first Preaching was the occasion of their Preferment, who after made their Preferment the occasion of their not Preaching. (*Speech in Parliament*, 1641.) These great Men were the Guides in the Religion of the *Courtiers*; and many out of the heighth of Loyalty and Joy, that we had our King, gave up their own reason, with other great things in complement to the *Courtier*, and the *Church-man*. But when considerate and thinking *Protestants* saw that the Mystery of many *Church-mens* Zeal, was Power and Dignities, and saw they must act and *Vote*, not for the pure Interest of Religion, but the Earthly Interest of Designing men. They began to recoil, and look to their own ground. They also saw which way many of the *Courtiers* took, and though they kept their Company as far as *Canterbury*, they broke off, and would go no further with them, who were bound for *France* and *Rome*. Of all the Conformists in our Age, none are equal in the general esteem of sober and sound *Protestants*, to them that have written best against *Popery*, Preached up *Piety*, and down *Atheism* and *Impiety*, that are painful in their Places, and most moderate, not with that kind of Moderation which some men describe to be Knavery, but that value things according to their Natures and Goodness, that are inclined to a Peace, with all that are sound in Faith, of differing *Perswasions* in Rites and Ceremonies: And though the sharp Conformist may think well of the violent Magistrate, in this sharp proceeding against *Dissenting Protestants*; the Fire being too hot to be pure Zeal, and the motion too sudden and violent to proceed from Judgment, and our Religion come to a greater danger; let Religion shift for it self, they'l make their own Terms and their Peace. Lastly, the forwardness for Peace and Union, doth proceed from an Antipathy against *Popery*, and that from the Evidence of Truth, and their fiery Designs and Doctrines: and because they that were in a proper Place to declare, declared the *Papists* were spared, when the *Protestant*, if a *Dissenter*, was severely punished. And if ever the *Papists* shall accomplish their Devices, which God forbid, they'l

they'l find it will be but an antick ridiculous thing in *England*, and will be endured no longer than they can keep their Cruelty in heart. A timely condescention will be found better, upon good terms, than to continue a rupture in its heighth against a sober, general Inclination to Unio.

2. I observed who were the real or seeming Obstructors of Accomodation, to this end, that the consideration of them might not hinder it.

1. There are Persons of an Imposing Humour or Judgment. They may like of all our Impositions, so far as to joyn in the Imposition, if they had Authority so to do. These look upon their inferiour Brethren, as an inferiour species of Creatures, for the *Yoke* and *Saddle* to follow a *Collar of Bells* in a *Rack*, and must not examine what is laid upon us. They say, *That Subjects must not Judge, but Submit and Act according to Prescription.* But this Notion doth detract from the Honour, as much as it doth magnifie the Authority of Governours: for it is more for the honour of Rulers, to make such wise Rules, as are consonant to the sound Reason of Subjects, and by consequence, meritorious of an Universal Approbation, than to put forth Acts of Power, which must be conformed unto, not for their goodness, but because they are commanded. Wherefore hath God continued a Faculty of discerning, of discoursing and judging to Inferiours, except they may exercise it? And if the Service of God, with its Order and Decencies, be not performed as acts of Judgment, how can it be our reasonable Service? This Notion doth suppose two things in Rulers: *First*, That either their Power to command is absolute, and what they command must for that very reason be obeyed, or that the Magistrates Will is perfectly consonant to the Will of God, and so, whatsoever he commands on Earth is approved in Heaven: which, is to suppose Governours, as such in acts of Command, are sinless, and without fault in the sight of God. And two things must be implyed or couched under this, *That either God hath delivered up the Concernments of his People int the Hands of Rulers, and he will approve of what they do.* Or else, *That they are infallible in Judging the Will of God, to be as they declare and determine.* Upon such Principles (which no Christian Ruler should own) it can only follow, *That Subjects and Inferiours are to lay aside, or to give up their Judgments.* But if they have a Power to Judge, then they have a Power to Refuse or Dissent from what is Imposed upon Examination, but with Modesty, Humility, and Peace; and not without very great reason, drawn from the supream Law of

God. There are, and there are like to be Dissents, but the differences between *Protestants* among us, being about Conformity in Accidentals, and Matters of little or no moment, taken antecedently to the pleasure of the Rulers, and the exacting of them with such a Dissent, being an Impediment to the great Work of God, against the Devil and his Kingdom. It is great pity so glorious a Work should be stopt thereby. *Saul* did not forbid *David* to go forth against *Goliah*, because he went not, and could not go harnessed against him in his Armour. If he could kill *Goliah* with a Sling and Stone, without the Formalities of a Champion, he is not forbidden. If a *Non-conformist* can help to throw down the Kingdom and Power of Satan, let him go forth in the Name of the Lord. The things are hard to many good Understandings, and above the Capacity of many Young Men, who see with other mens Eyes, and act by an Implicit Faith. It would be much better that Men were required to assent, declare, and abhor nothing but what they can understand; and see that they well understand the Articles of Religion before they assent even to them. A plain way, and an easie Burthen of necessary things will invite good company into the same way, and make us go on more chearfully and successfully. If you think to secure all by our assenting, it is no longer than we continue of that mind: if you think to eradicate ill Principles that grew up in evil Times, you do that which is unnecessary in them, that never entertained them, and ineffectual to root them out of their Minds that received them; for except they see the reason of my Declarations, my Declaration alone is too weak a means to root them up. If the Church agree upon things necessary, and the Magistrate Establish and Command the Observation of them: the Magistrate preserves and exercises his Power; the Pastors of the Church maintain and use their power of exposition of the Laws of Christ, and of Discipline; and Christians have their Liberty, and we have a full Answer to the Argument of the *Papists*, &c. An infallible Judge, by affecting and glorifying the Wisdom, Care and Power of our Sovereign Christ, and Infallible Guide into all Truth, which he hath promised. If there were need of an Infallible visible Guide and Expositor to avoid *Dissentions*, we have had no help from him, that claims it.

The second sort of Obstructors of an Accomodation, are the uncharitable. They cannot afford of a Spiritual Alms to a *Dissenter* from them. All must come into his Frame. But how comes he to be the Pattern and Model of all others, that all of a right Stamp and Figure must be cast into his Mould? You make your selves and the Government

ment all one, therefore by your uncharitable and weak inference, they who dissent from you, dissent from the Government; ye represent sound Professors of Christianity, as odious, by your Declarations and Characters. All are either *Presbyterians* or *Fanaticks* that dissent from you: and if some one of them hath written erroniously, you fancy all to be as that one. You make the *Jesuit* and *Presbyterian* all one, save that the *Jesuit* hath wit enough to out-wit the *Presbyterian*, and the *Presbytirian* hath not wit enough to see it, not considering in the mean time you give men occasion to say, what some of you have not forborn to say, *You would sooner be a* Jesuit *than a* Presbyterian; *for who would not be of them that have most wit*? And again, how doth your wit overthrow your honesty? Choosing rather, if it came to an Option, to be a Traytor than some kind of *Protestants*? And what use must the Magistrate make of your Character, if taken and believed, but, *overlook the* Jesuite, *and pursue the* Protestant. And to promote this excellent Service, you lay the guilt of our doleful Wars upon the *Presbyterians*; a Name scarce known before the Wars in *England*: yea, to add Piety to your Charity, upon the Preaching, Praying, and Fasting of those Times, and the Divines who were in the Parliaments Quarters, whereas many had never been there, if they durst have staid at home; and being driven for shelter thither, who were more grieved at Extremities than they? But if you please to read, if you can find it, a Speech in Parliament, of the Excellent, Learned, and Noble Lord *Faukland*, Secretary of State, and killed unhappily at *Newbury Fight*, for the King; you will find a heavy charge laid upon other Heads. Besides, Mr. *Ham. L'Estrange*, in the Reign of K. *Charles*, who will tell you, the War with *Scotland* was called, *Bellum Episcopale*, and by whom. The Wars in *Ireland* began with the *Irish Popish Rebellion*. It was as desperate a Course as they could take to destroy themselves, unless they thought that they might proceed with little or no Interruption from *England*, who had work enongh of their own, to imploy both their Minds and their Hands upon. Except they had laid the Train, how could they foretel a Fire of Wars, or great Combustions to be in *England*, as they did, when their Rebellion broke out. For this, I take the Testimony of Sir *John Temple* to be of great Authority. *Hist.* of the *Irish Rebellion*, p. 68, 69. For their conjectures and fore-knowledge of the unhappy Differences in *England*, he could produce the general concurrence of several Circumstances, many private Discourses and Advertisements, but he produced a Letter which was long in his keeping, written by an intelligent *Papist*, and great Zealot to a Nephew of Sir *Toby Mathews*,

then

then in *Doublin*, to adviſe him to forſake that unfortunate Countrey, which God and Man had ſpeedily reſolved to puniſh, *&c.* To be ſure, not to ſtop in *England*, eſpecially at *London*, that Sink of Sin, for by that time he arrived there, he ſhould be ſure to find nothing but Troubles ——— That he ſhould diſpatch therefore for *Paris*, or rather *Bruſſels*. Dated, the Beginning of *November*, 1641. Full ſix months before the taking up of Arms in *England*. Becauſe that voluminous *Penſioner* of ſome of the full Clergy, hath taken exception at this Paſſage, that I ſhould call our unhappy Wars, begun upon Civil Matters, *Bellum Papale*, a *Papal War*, for the King, but againſt the King, as well as Parliament and Proteſtants. I'll make bold to refer the Reader to the Reverend and Learned Biſhop of *Lincoln*, of the *Poſitions* and *Principles* of the *Church of Rome*, p. 64, 65. Dr. *Moulin's* Anſwer to *Phil. Anglicus*. p. 58, 59. Mr. *Prin's*, *Rome's Maſter-Piece*, which gives you the Diſcovery of *Andreas* of *Habernfield*, and hidden Works of Darkneſs: Beſides many other Diſcoveries of their Influence upon the moſt fearful Beginning, doleful Progreſs and Concluſion of it.

If they that bear the Sword, ſhould act as you ſpeak, and ſeem to mean by your ſpeaking, *That* Diſſenters *are dangerous Perſons, and carry a War in their Hearts, and ſeek an Opportunity to kindle it*. Then there is no way to ſecure the Government and us from them, but to ſuppreſs them by force, and the ſureſt way to ſuppreſs them, will be to ruine them, and all this now, in a time of Peace, and in cold Blood, after a gratious Oblivion, and above twenty years Experience and Tryal, and after a moſt malitions and wicked Practice, to father a horrid Conſpiracy upon them. And if Loyal and true Subjects ſhould be deſtroyed at your Inſtigation and Information, would you not be guilty before Gods Tribunal and your own Conſciences, when better informed? O ſee the miſchief of your Jealouſies and Opinions!

3. Perſecuting Zealots, that approve of ſmarting Severities and coertion, and would think happy Times were coming, if they could choſe a Parliament as beſt, that is leaſt indulgent, as they do moſt applaud thoſe Officers that are moſt violent. Severities and Sufferings muſt not be thought to be Perſecution, becauſe, Executions of the Law. Theſe are ſo confident of their being in the Right in all Points, and carry it, as if they thought the matters of difference to be of ſo high a nature, that a Diſſent is not to be born with, that *Diſſenters* are to be undone, to preſerve Law and Government. They condemn that Magiſtrate for Coldneſs and worſe, that doth not thruſt out a *Diſſenting Preacher*, and diſtribute

ſtribute his Goods, and a great part of them to very Villains. Theſe blow up Controverſies into unquencheable Diſſentions, and cut them into wide Chaſms and unpaſſable Gulfs, that the coercive Power may take the heavier blow. But from whence came this Spirit upon you? Know ye not who was a Murtherer from the Beginning? Suppoſe all are in a damnable Errour beſide your ſelf, is this the way to convince and convert any? What! you would live alone? and reign alone? And do not you know who looks on and laughs? Are you prepared for *Romiſh Perſecution*? Do you approve of their Methods? Are you ſo prepared and ſettled, that you could bear the Croſs under a *Roman* or *Pagan* Power, and not complain? Surely you would not take it well: and why will you afflict and perſecute, that cannot bear a Perſecution? For can you bear a Perſecution, that cannot bear a Contradiction, or a Diſſent, in a *Proteſtant* and a *Chriſtian*? If you have not Meekneſs and Patience to bear with an Erring or a Preaching Brother, how will you endure the ſmoak of *Romiſh* Doctrines, and the Fiery Tryal? Are the *Dog-Days* the beſt Days in the Year to you? If they are too hot for Men of warmth and Fire, then do not chooſe to be *Dog-Stars* in the Firmament, to ſend out a pernitious Influence. *Caniculum Perſecutionis vides*, ſaid *Tertul.* You take your ſelf to be ſlandered, if ſaid to take that Bible for your Authority, wherein it is written, *Occide & manduca*. It was a ſevere word of K. *James*, to the famous Dr. *Jo. Rainolds*, and the *Nonconformiſts*; *I will make them Conform themſelves, or I will hurry them out of this Land, or elſe do worſe*. Comfir. at *Hampton Court*, p. 85. Many *Nonconformiſts* went away into *New-England*, and God turned it to their good, for they enjoyed their Peace, whil'ſt Old *England* was diſtracted, and in Arms and Blood, and a Scourge fell upon them, that were as Goads in their Sides. You know not what you conſult to your ſelves, who are ſo poſitive in your decrees againſt your Brethren. Mercy and Meekneſs, and Forbearance, cooling Heats, healing Differences, abating Rigors, are more Humane and Chriſtian Qualities, than what you nouriſh. And Perſecution is Perſecution, though you give it another Name. Rather bring the *Suburbs* within a Wall, than burn them to ſave your Citadel, as you think. And though you may eſteem *Diſſenters* to be like ill Humours in the Body, it is more natural to bear the conflict of bad Humours, than to cut off but a Foot or Hand, or but a Little Finger. If all men were of your temper, there would be but continual Burning and War, Weeping and Mourning upon Earth. No place but Heaven capable of giving reſt, and men never like to attain it by this way. Compare the Spirit of Perſecution and the Spirit of Errour, and

the

Spirit of Persecution is more the Diabolical: in the one there is dark-
nesse and deceit; in the other there is much Ignorance and Pride, with Inhumanity.

4. Idle, Insufficient, and Unprofitable Ministers, that live at ease,
and love to enjoy themselves, are indisposed to a Closure. These either drive away, or constrain them to take better care of themselves. These cry mightily, *the Church, the Church*, declaim against much Preaching, and all to save their Labour. But compose your selves to receive a few serious words. *If all men were as negligent and unable as you are, what would become of the Flock, which God Redeemed with his own Blood? They that run over their Railery against Preaching, Parliament, Fanaticks, Indulgence, Calvin*, and *others, as Papists run over their Beads, lye in Bed while the Devil is up at work, to bring upon us, Errours, Heresies, Superstitions, Profaneness, and every evil thing which the Enemy can bring upon us. The Harvest is great, the Labourers are few, be not against more Labours coming in, but joyn hands and diligence in the great Work, or, when the day of Reward comes, you will be miserable, when you shall hear what will be said of Evil and Slothful Servants. Rejoyce that the Devils are made subject by the Redemption of any Souls from their Spiritual Enemies; shake off your Sloth, and give your selves to the Ministry of the Word, and study to shew your selves approved of God, & rejoyce that Christ is preach't.*

5. I said that Ecclesiastical Merchants are not for an Indulgence, Comprehension, or any thing of that nature. I have met with a distinction of the Church into *Primitivam* and *Possessivam*, and called some, *Ecclesia Possessiva Filii*, the Sons of the Church Possessive. I can sooner forbear the Name and Title, than too many forbear the Thing; who would not have touched tht Work of the *Ministry* with one of their Fingers, but for great, if not double Wages. The Cure of one Church is too much for some, who covet many Titles, and great Revenues. Take away these Incouragements, and Learning will fall, and Religion come to scorn and decay, say they: whereas our Universities know and feel what a Discouragement engrossing of Preferments in some men's hands, is to many hopeful men. But such Persons being potent in their Friends, in their Purses and Patrons, are secure from loosing what they have, and will have a share in Preferments, while there are any to be had. But who should be more compassionate to them that are out of all, and in great want, than they who cannot live upon a little themselves? But they who study the Arts and Ways of growing great, and take the sacred Calling upon them for the Worlds sake, are unacquainted with Self-denial, and the publick Peace, and Propagation

of Faith and Holiness by Unity and Condescention, are more to be regarded than the private Wealth of any Individuals.

6. There are many honest good men that wish for Amendment, but are rather afraid of altering too much, for submitting to Conformity to be out of Confusion; they are tenacious of Conformity, for fear of a Toleration. But as there is a necessity of Government, so none proposed less, that ever I heard of, than Arch-bishop *Usher's Model*, or *Reduction*. Some have diperst an ill Opinion of our late Parliaments, as if they did design a Dissolution of the Government, and to throw all the Broken Parties into the Fire, to run into a Formless and Shapeless Lump. And on the other hand, while some are afraid of taking away Superfluities, the whole Frame will down, they bewray the weakness of the Cement and of the Foundation, as if you touched any thing, you tumble down all.

7. Others are afraid of the *Dissenters* coming in as Victors, and that their coming in, will be with a Condemnation of them who have conformed. But who would not willingly deny himself, if it were so, rather than we should not condescend; for the Condescention is to Christ, with respect to his Glory, who hath deserved a far greater Self-denyal from us. If they cannot be trusted with such a Favour, let it be done with a Protestation, of saving the Rights belonging to our Governours. But I hope they would receive the Mercy with more Humility and Thankfulness, than abuse it, to Pride and Insolency, lest they loose it, and justifie them whom they condemn for Stiffness.

Lastly, Our many Breaches with God, is the great Gulf between us. On the one hand, if Church-men would lay to heart, and mourn for our Divisions, and clearly see whence they arise, and the great Loss to the Church at home, and Scandal to the Churches abroad, by the Ejection of so many able good Men, whom no other Nation could spare, and turn the heat of Disputation into Love and Compassion, and spare themselves by not disgracing others, we might have more hopes. Dr. *Boilston* of *Derby*, who saw *London* Fire, and was deeply affected with it, after his return to his Place in the Country, on the Fast following, as many other *Conformists* have done, reckoned this among the many Sins, Judgments, and Provocations of the Land, *That many able Ministers were turned out of the Ministry*: but was chidden into Tears for his melting Charity, by his angry Diocesan. If more felt the loss, as many do, we should part with some things to regain them. On the other hand, when Dissenting Christians, bring forth more Fruit, under the unwearied Labours of their Preachers, & obey the Gospel of Christ, & can bless God for the many able publick Preachers, and receive the Faith and Word, without respect of Persons; and be sorry for their Anger & Evil-

speaking, we may come to an Union, and see the Partition-Wall thrown down.

But surely our Legislators are too wise, and more resolved upon the most necessary work of composing Differences, than to endanger the Whole by a division of Parts; to gratifie these, I have named who are not of so much worth, as to compensate the loss of publick Church-Protestant Peace for their sakes. This was written when Parliaments were frequently called, and every Parliament had a sense of our dangers by our Divisions. After I have said this for my Reverend Brethren in Christ, I do seriously declare my Thoughts, that no man should be afraid to plead, and make Intercession for them.

For *First*, Those few who are yet alive, who were Men before the War, are as safe under the healing Wings of the *Act of Grace*, as any other Men who needed that Protection as much as they, and have been placed as near the King and Court, as they have been driven from him. The greater is their Transgression, who peck at that Foundation of our Peace, and that tear that Covering from their Neighbours backs, in their Pulpits and Pamplets.

2. They need no more Clemency nor Pardons since, than other Men, except for their Preaching, and living in, or near to Corporations. Never accused for False Doctrine in sowing Sedition.

3. They are admitted into the private Converse of the most eminent of all Qualities in the Land, except a few. Who can say of any of them, with such an one, no not to Eat? Therefore they are admittable into a Publick Station, where they can do more good, and less hurt, if doing hurt were their Design and Faculty, than in private. Me-thinks no Man should be permitted to preach to four, besides the Family from House to House, that may not be permitted to preach publickly: for may they with Safety, and Edification to Soules, preach to four at a time, why not to four hundred at a time? Or if their preaching in publick be dangerous to the State and Church, is it not much more in private? Our Priests and Jesuites have not perverted their boasted of Numbers in publick, but in private. Families are the Nurseries of Church and State; corrupt them and the Poison is dispersed. Me-thinks it should not be at all lawful for *Non-Conformists*, to Preach to a number not exceeding four besides the Family at once, or as lawfull to preach in publick; where if they were a Depraving Heretical Sect of Men (which they are not) but to be preferred before thousands than Officiate in the Land, they will be more wary and temperate, than to loose their Hearers, or hazard their Liberty, which they obtain with so much difficulty. Suppose twenty Non-conforming Ministers

sters should keep strictly to their legal number four besides the Family, these twenty Ministers Preach to 80 Citizens; if these twenty should Lecture the 80 into Atheism, Blasphemy Infidelity, Heresy, Sedition or Rebellion, would it be endured? would not the Pestilence spread? And that of the mind is as quickly diffused, and as silently conveyed, as the *Plague* from Body to Body, and House to House. If they are Men of pernitious Principles, they are allowed too much; if not, they are allowed too little. It is true, they have taken Liberty contrary to Law, to Preach to greater Numbers, and have patiently born the Penalties, when inflicted: and by their Adventuring, they have vindicated themselves, and testified to the Gospel which they believe, and stop'd the Mouths of many; besides much good done upon many thousand Souls, that had been else neglected; and declared to the World what manner of men they are, what Doctrine they Preach, and that they have not sowed Sedition, and ill Principles of Disloyalty and Treason: and the many years Experience, and Proof given of their Principles and Abilities, is not only an Apology for them, against them that Judge them, *vel Prejudicio Nominis*, but furnish the Wise and Moderate with some Arguments to plead for reasonable Abatements for them.

4. They have done as much as any Men of their Degrees, to support and save the Nation, and the *Protestant* Profession, and as great a Terror to the *Papists*, as any of their number and Quality in the Land.

5. They are Men of great Parts, Piety, and Prudence, sound Divines, good Preachers and Writers; no man that knows their Persons, or their Labours, or their Writings, but ought to give them their due, without Detraction from others. With what a sweet Spirit and Stile, Learning, Judgment, Argument, hath Mr. *Polehill* vindicated them, and the Doctrines of the Church, against Dr. *Sherlock's* Imputations? This is acknowledged by some of their stiffest Opponents as I could shew: though not by all.

6. Wise and Great Men for Power, Place, Wisdom, and Experience in Affairs, both of Church and State, have endeavoured a Composition, though in vain: I should not be ashamed or afraid, to my best Ability, to commend the Endeavours of but one Lord Keeper *Bridgman*; of but one Lord Chief Justice *Hales* (What would we have given for him since his Death?) of but one Bishop *Wilkins*, or either of the Deans of *Canterbury* and *Pauls*. I have shewed how some of the sharpest Procurers of our Laws grew mild and gentle. And the more Wise, Experienced, Self-Acquainted, Christian, or Gentile any man is, the more moderate in Ceremonies, different Rites, and Impositions, and the more disposed to a Closure. [*See the Close of these Sheets.*]

I never heard any Wise, Learned, Good Man of the *Church of England*, justifie their Ejection, or approve of their Suppression; some have wished they would give way to the wrath of angry Magistrates, either by abstaining from Publick Preaching, or in time of Publick, that they might escape the Edge of the Law.

8. It is no more to their Prejudice that they are not all of the same Mind, than that we are not all of a Mind, no, not in the Point of Conformity it self.

9. To intercede for them, and their admission, is not to plead for Turbulent, Factious, Schismatical Persons, that are insufferable. Make them one with us by a Law, and where is the *Faction* and *Schism*? Suppose the King and Parliament for them, and against us; their way made Legal, and ours as theirs is now, without, or against the Law; on whom would the Charge of *Schism* fall? The Magistrates Favour and Law removes, or fastens the Crime. I know there is a *Schism*, and it is a great Sin, without respect to humane Laws; but he that endeavours to keep the unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace, is no *Schismatick*, although he cannot come up to the Terms of Conformity. I have a tenderness in imputing *Schism* to any good Men, who cannot live and dye in Sin; but if this be a Sin, many good Men have dyed in it, never declaring their Repentance for their Non-conformity, or Preaching against the Prohibition of the Law. I do verily believe they were not only seeming, but sincerely good Men; 'tis too hard to judg them dead in Sin.

10. They are Protestants: if they come not to that Test, reject them: they are Peaceable, they are loyal, true to the King according to Law, they have born their burden with us. Do we pray for the King? so do they, and for all that are in Authority. That under them they may lead peaceable and quiet Lives in all Godliness and Honesty? Do we Fast? they do the same, with great importunity. Who more abundant in Labours than they? Who more Orthodox according to the Doctrines of the Church than they? ---- My Paper is almost at an end, and so am I.

Thus I have communicated my Thoughts with plainness and truth. I shall say what was once spoken in Parliament: 'Let us first fear God, then shall we honour the King the more, for I am afraid we have been less prosperous in Parliaments, because we have preferred other Matters before him. Let Religion be our *Primum Quærite*, for all things else are but *Et cætera's* to it, &c. (Sir, *Ben. Rudyer.*)

And whether Exclusion of Papist, or Inclusion of Protestants be first endeavoured, is left to the Wisdom of my Superiors. ---- God prosper both.

For my Brethren and Companion's sake, I will now Pray, *Peace be upon Israel.*

Violentis Conciliis, nec sanari mentes, nec tranquillitas Ecclesiæ restitui unquam poterit, [Phil. Melanch. *ad* Hen. 2 Fran. Reg.]

Quòd si squamæ Leviathon ita cohærent, ut earum operè textili densatæ, quasi Loricatus incedat Satan & Cataphractus, quod de fœdere Concordiæ, quæ malignantis Ecclesiæ membra, sic complexa, muniunt & circumvallent, Elegantissimè Lutherus & verè, cui immane quantum hient, obsecro, quasi ruinam universæ Fabricæ minitantes, inhientq; quasi visto fœdo: rictu se devoraturi, vivi Lapides in vero Templo Collocati, &c. ---- *inquit* Dr. Stoughton, *Epistola Elegantiss. cui Titulus, Felicitas ultimi Sæculi.* p. 40.

Addenda

ADDENDA:

The NONCONFORMISTS *vindicated from the foul Charge of the death of King* Charles *the First*, &c.

IT is ſad to ſee how many Obſtructions are laid in the way of Peace, and how too many build up Walls of Separation, and keep alive the Embers of our conſuming Wars, and throw about Coals of Fire, to provoke and incenſe all that are in Authority againſt the Diſſenters, as the Principal Actors of that Bloody Tragedy, even to the laſt Scene. The nick-nam'd Court of Juſtice, and the fatal Scaffold on which three Kingdoms were beheaded with one ſtroke, to the Univerſal Grief, and Aſtoniſhment of good Men. Some cannot forget (what they cannot to my knowledg ſcarce remember, and as little underſtand thoſe Affairs, as if they were Children ſtill) to charge the Rebellion and Murder of the King upon the *Diſſenters*, and tell ſome of them, that they keep Schools and Nurſeries of Rebellion, to teach the preſent or next Generation to act over the ſame part again. If theſe Men did not hear ſuch things ſpoken of, they could not repeat them, and if they knew the contrary, they could not with any face throw out ſuch odious and ſpightful matter. To inform the leſs knowing, and to wipe off Aſperſions from them that are wronged, I will for the Information of them that know not the Truth, and Vindication of the aſperſed, give a brief Account of the Tranſactions of the Army, and the Teſtimony born by the *London* Miniſters againſt them at that time.

In *December* 1648, after that the Army had marched through the City, quartered at *White-hall* and other places, ſecluded the Members of Parliament that voted the King's Conceſſions to be a ground for Peace; there was a Book preſented to the General and Council of the Army, call'd the *Agreement of the People*, containing a new Frame of Government, which in *November* before was ſuppreſt in the Army. There were many Debates about it, and upon the Particulars in it. In *January*

the General and Army had many Debates upon that part of it which concerned Religion; And they ſent to divers of the Miniſters of the City of *London* to meet with the Officers of the Army in their Conſultations about matters of Religion. Some of the *London* Miniſters, as Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Marſhal*, Mr. *Whitaker*, Mr. *O. Sedgwick* and others met at one Conference with the General and ſome of the Council of the Army; and another time, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Aſh*, Mr. *Whitaker*, and others met ſome of the chief Officers, and manifeſted their diſlike of their Actions, *viz.* excluding the Members, their Remonſtrance of *November* 20, 1648, their Declaration, and Reſolution to ſettle the Kingdom, *&c.* After this, about 46 or 47 of the City Miniſters, ſent a Letter, preſented by ſome of them to the General, dated *January* 17, 1648, wherein they firſt declare their Concurrence in Opinion with their fore-named Brethren. And further declare that if the General and his Council had asked them their Reſolution, whether the Ways wherein they walked were agreeable to the Word of God, they ſhould have delivered their Judgment as their other Brethren had done, and have adviſed them inſtead of proceeding in ſuch unwarrantable Courſes, to teſtify their timely and godly Sorrow for what (ſo clearly againſt the direct Rule of the Word) they had already acted. But to be called to a Conference with them, to contribute their Aſſiſtance in Proſecution of what they had undertaken, which they conceived out of their (the Armies) Sphere, this had been for them to be acceſſary and guilty of all the Evil that was in them. Further, they reckon the Proceedings of the Army of late, and Practices againſt Legal Authority, by their Remonſtrance and Declaration in Oppoſition to the Proceedings of Parliament, their ſeizing and impriſoning the Perſon of the King, their violent hindring about one hundred Members of Parliament to ſit in Parliament, and impriſoning ſome of them; and beſides all this, there is a Contrivance of a new Frame and Model of Laws and Government and Repreſentative to be ſubſcribed throughout the Kingdom under the Name of the *Agreement of the People*. All which Practices (ſaid they) we cannot but judg to be manifeſtly oppoſite to the lawful Authority of thoſe Magiſtrates which God hath ſet over us, and to the Duty and Obedience, which by the Laws of God and Man, and by our manifold Oath and Covenants, we ſtand obliged to render to them. And therefore we judg it our Duty, rather to teſtify our utter diſlike and Deteſtation, than to give any (tho but implicite and interpretative) Approbation of them. They go on to aggravate their Sin in thoſe their Practices, that an Army raiſed for the Preſervation of the Priviledges of Parliament, Religion, Laws, Liberties, ſhould contrary

contrary to their Truſt, and many Ingagements, go about to ſubvert them: This was contrary to the Intention of the Parliament to do Violence to the Perſon of the King, or diveſt him out of his Regal Authority, much leſs to overthrow the whole Frame and Fundamental Conſtitution of the Government, or impower any ſo to do, when they took up Arms. They declare their Obligation to adhere to their juſt Principles by their ſeveral Oaths and Covenants, as by the Proteſtation of *May* 5, 1641. They ſhew them the danger of violating Oaths, and entreat them to commune with their own Hearts, to turn from the evil of their preſent Ways, which were ſuch as they could not ſay, *The Bleſſing of the Lord be upon you.* They fear they were opening a door to deſperate and damnable Errors and Hereſies, and licentious Practices againſt the Worſhip of God; that Religion was made to ſtink by their Miſcarriages, and like to be a Scorn to all the Chriſtian World. The Faces of God's Servants were covered with Shame, and their Hearts filled with Grief for them; the Golden Cord of Government was broken, the Honour of Magiſtracy laid in the Duſt: The Parliament made contemptible by profeſſed Friends. They tell them, you cannot but know how fully the Word of God enforceth Obedience to Magiſtrates, condemns under pain of Damnation ſuch Practices as yours, and the many Threatnings and Judgments of God upon Oppoſers of this Ordinance of his——. And conſonant to the Tenor of Scripture herein, hath always been the conſtant Judgment and Doctrine of Proteſtant Divines at home and abroad, with whoſe *Judgments we do fully concur*; diſclaiming, deteſting and abhorring the wicked and bloody Tenents and Practices of Jeſuits (the worſt of Papiſts) concerning the oppoſing of lawful Magiſtrates by private Perſons, and *murdering of Kings by any*, tho under the moſt *colourable* and ſpecious Pretences; which *Jeſuitical Principles and Counſels*, we fear may have too great a Concurrence with, if not an Influence upon theſe late Tranſactions.

—— They appeal to their Conſciences that if any other Party of other Principles had attempted to ſeize the King's Perſon, to remove him from place to place, without and againſt His and the Parliament's conſent, would it not have been judged by you intolerable? If any of their Confederates had removed the Parliament Guards, ſecured, or inhibited their Members, conceived Models of their own, deſtructive to all Parliaments, We appeal to your own Conſciences, what Clamours and Accuſations had you raiſed againſt them?

Having aggravated their Offences, and argued with them, they anſwer the Pleas and Pretences taken; 1. From Succeſſes. 2. From Providences. 3. From Impulſes. 4. From Neceſſity. And upon the

whole matter, they ſeriouſly beſeech them to recede from their evil Ways, learn to keep within their Bounds, from *John* Baptiſt, *Luke* 3. 14. But if they perſiſt, let them know they have ſinn'd, and fear the turn of the Wheel upon them. If they return to their Duty, the worthy Miniſters tell them, they ſhall bleſs God for it, and not fear the Threatnings ſent by ſome of the Army to ſome of them by Mr. *Peters*; that if we ſtir up the People to Sedition, (ſo our bewailing your Sins is interpreted) and the Souldiers do us a Miſchief, we may thank our ſelves; and that if there follow another War, you will give no quarter, that you will ſpare neither Man, Woman nor Child, Engliſh or Stranger. And tho ſome of us were told, by one of the Meſſengers ſent from you (Mr. *Peters*) that if we put our ſelves upon Sufferings, we ſhall have Sufferings enow; yet *we know the God whom we ſerve, is able to deliver us*; to whom in well-doing we commit the keeping of our ſelves as to a faithful Creator: But if for our Sins, and of the Land, the Lord ſhall make you Inſtruments of Miſery and Confuſion, we will ſay with *Eli*, *It is the Lord, let him do what ſeemeth him good.*

Notwithſtanding this publick Hazard in appearing againſt thoſe black and horrid Proceedings, there was the ſame Spirit acting in Men, (as hath been ſince and ever) againſt the Miniſters of *London*, and others that acted (not before they were called) on the Parliament ſide, to make them, as they ſay, injuriouſly to ſmart under the Scourge of Tongues and Pens. Some there were who charged them to be inſtrumental towards the taking away the Life of the King; ſome charged them as a bloody Sect, traiterous Obſtructors of the Settlement and Peace of the Kingdom and Religion (or the Agreement of the People, falſely ſo called) and content to have the King convicted and condemned, but ſtuck at the Execution. Being thus falſely accuſed during the Trial of the King, they publiſhed a Vindication of themſelves from thoſe falſe Aſperſions, and ſay, they diſclaim theſe matters, falſely charged on them, from their Hearts; Before the whole World declaring, that that which put them upon appearing for the Parliament at firſt, was, the Propoſitions and Orders of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, *June* 10, 1642. for bringing in of Money and Plate; wherein they were aſſured it ſhould be no otherwiſe imploy'd, than to maintain the Proteſtant Religion, the King's Authority, his Perſon in his Royal Dignity, the free courſe of Juſtice, the Laws of the Land, the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Priviledges of Parliament againſt any Force which ſhall oppoſe them. Next, they declare themſelves wholly unſatisfied with the Proceedings, ſince the Excluſion and Impriſonment of

Vindication pag. 3.

of the Members of the House of Commons as not warranted by sufficient Authority, but tending to a Subversion of what the Parliament called the Fundamental Constitution and Government of the Kingdom, in their Declaration of *April* 17, 1646. And hold themselves bound in Duty to God, Religion, the King, Parliament and Kingdom, to profess before God, Angels and Men that we verily believe, the taking away the Life of the King in the present way of Trial, is not only not agreeable to any Word of God, the Principles of the Protestant Religion (never yet stained with the least drop of the Blood of a King) or the Fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom, but contrary to them, as also to the Oath of Allegiance, the Protestation of *May* 5, 1641, and the solemn League and Covenant, from all which or any of which Engagements, we know not any Power on Earth able to absolve us, or others.

Lastly, they warned and exhorted in the name of this Great God, all that belonged to their Charges and Ministry, to keep close to the Ways of God, the Rules of Religion, Fundamental Constitution and Government of this Kingdom, not suffering themselves to be seduced from it, by being drawn to subscribe the late Models, or *Agreement of the People*, which directly tended to subvert the Fundamental Government, to make way for an Universal Toleration of all Heresies and Blasphemies, the Priviledges of Parliament, Union between the two Kingdoms, and to mourn bitterly for the Sins of all degrees of Men, *&c.* restrain the Violence of Men that they may not dare to draw upon themselves and the Kingdom the Blood of their Soveraign. This was subscribed by,

G. Burges, D. D.	*Hen. Roborough.*	*Elidad Blackwell.*	*John Glascock.*
Will. Gouge D.D.	*John Downham.*	*John Crosse.*	*Thomas Whateley.*
Ed. Stanton D.D.	*Arthur Jakson.*	*John Fuller.*	*Jonathan Lloyd.*
Tho. Temple D.D.	*Ja. Nalton.*	*William Taylor.*	*John Wells.*
Geo. Walker.	*Tho. Cawton.*	*Peter Witham.*	*Benj. Needler.*
Edm. Calamy.	*Char. Off-spring.*	*Fran. Peck.*	*Nath. Staniforth.*
Jer. Whitaker.	*Sa. Clark.*	*Christopher Love.*	*Steven Watkins.*
Dan. Cawdrey.	*Jo. Wall.*	*J. Wallis*, D. D.	*Jacob Tice.*
W. Spurstow, D.D	*Fran. Roberts.*	*Tho. Watson.*	*John Stileman.*
La. Seaman, D.D	*Samuel Bolton.*	*William Wickins.*	*Josias Bull.*
Simeon Ashe.	*Mat. Haviland.*	*T. Manton*, D.D.	*Jon. Devenx.*
Thomas Case.	*John Sheffield.*	*Thomas Gouge.*	*Paul Russell.*
Nich. Proffet.	*Will. Harrison.*	*Will. Blackmore.*	*Joshua Kirby.*
Tho. Thorowgood.	*Will. Jenkyn.*	*Robert Mercer.*	*Arthur Barham.*
Edw. Corbet.	*John Viner.*	*Ra. Robinson.*	

Of

Of these I can reckon twenty that liv'd joyfully to see the Restauration of his present Majesty, and afterwards were ejected for Nonconformity; and now there are not many that remain alive besides the very Reverend and Learned Dr. *Wallis* (then in *London*) Mr. *Sheffield*, Mr. *Jenkyn*, Mr. *Watson*, Mr. *Wickins* (for ought I know are yet alive) Mr. *Whateley*, Mr. *Blackmore*, and Mr. *Arth. Barham*; and which of these *Nonconformists* dare now show his honest or Loyal Face in open day, for wicked Spoilers, the Informers, that divide the Spoil, and may come, when all is wasted and devoured with a visible Curse, to eat their own Flesh, and to gnash their Teeth.

And to go a little further, because the Dissenters have born the Blame of overturning the Government, and some in their fallacious Oratory daily represent them to be such principled Men, in order to root them out, lest they root up the Government. Be it remembred, that when others were acting that Tragedy, by a specious, fanciful, delatory *Agreement of the People*, that the Divines of the Nonconforming Perswasion did openly appear against it; and for the ancient, well-established Fundamental Government, and particularly detested the Proceedings fore-going the Trial, the Trial it self, and the lamentable Death of the King; see, who can, what is too long to be repeated, *the Essex Watch-mens Watch-word*, subscribed by above sixty *Essex* Ministers, *London*, *Feb.* 15, 1648. Nineteen Ministers of the Lecture of *Banbury* in *Oxfordshire*, and *Brackley* in *Northamptonshire* sent up their humble Advice and earnest desires to the General, declaring their utter Dissent from all Proceedings against his Majesties Crown and Life upon ten Reasons, presented *Jan.* 25, 1648. And 54 of the Ministers in the Province of *Lancaster* (accounted commonly the riged and hottest Puritans or Presbyterians) *in the Agreement of the People taken into Consideration*, p. 12. have these words: 'But especially we know not 'how to hide or hold in the Sorrow and Shame that, even unto Horror, 'hath filled our Hearts and Faces, upon occasion of the late Proceed-'ings, both those against the secluded Members of Parliament, and 'those against the Person of the King deceased, we not knowing 'how to clear them from manifest Disloyalty and breach of Covenant; 'and when we would comfort our selves with this, that our Souls have 'not come into the Secrets of, or been united in any Society with 'those Actions, but ever *abhorr'd them*; our Hearts are yet faint within 'us, when we consider how upon these Proceedings, our Christian and 'Protestant Profession, the way and common Cause we have stood for, 'the endeavoured Reformation, and the National Covenant we with 'others have entred into, are reproached. You may see what they that took

took the Covenant, took to be the Obligation of it; yet their Loyalty ſtood not upon that Obligation alone, but upon the Duty of Subjects, the Oaths, 1. of Allegiance, 2. Of Supremacy, 3. Vow and Proteſtation of *May* 5, 1641, and laſtly, the S. L. and Covenant, *Ib.* p. 5. Indeed I can add no more Teſtimonies out of mine own little Collections, or elſe I would, beſide that very rational Diſcourſe of worthy *William Aſhurſt*, Eſq; called *Reaſons againſt the Agreement of the People.* An Appendix to the *Agreement of the People*, by *A. P.* Jan. 24, 1648. And in my great Scarcity of Teſtimonies, I am ſupplied by one, who was then a mournful Obſerver and Reprover of the deſigned Evils, the Reverend, Pious, and Zealous Mr. *John Gerce*, in his *Might overcoming Right*, againſt *John Goodwin*, in his Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Right Honourable the old Lady *Vere*, and her Daughter the Lady *Fairfax*; he profeſſeth that after the way called Puritaniſm he had ſerved the God of his Fathers above 33 Years, and warmly applies himſelf to the Ladies; 'Therefore Honourable Ladies, go on with Aſſiduity and Conſtancy and 'encreaſing Fervor, to withdraw him (whom you ſo dearly reſpect) the 'General, from Society in Actions ſo contraty to the Honour of God and 'our Religion. O ſtudy that it may never be ſaid, that any Perſon of Ho-'nour and of the Proteſtant Religion, had any hand in ſo unworthy an-'Action, as depoſing and deſtroying of a King, whoſe Preſervation they 'are bound to endeavour by ſo many ſacred Bonds, *&c.* *P.* 16. He ſaith, 'The whole Peerage of *England* diſtaſte Rigor againſt the Perſon of the 'King; and I think three parts of four in the Houſe of Commons. The 'Generality of the People of the Land deteſt it; the Miniſtry, that have 'not been thought altogether inconſiderable, 'ſtand amazed at it, as moſt diſhonourable to 'Religion, *&c.* This worthy Man, who broke his Heart for the King's Death, as is affirmed by knowing Perſons, well knew the Poſture of Men's Minds at that time, he ſpake with Truth and Judgment, and very great Concernedneſs.

See Prin's Speech in Parliament, Decemb. 4, 1648, *for the Vote of* December 5. 45 *Members were imprisoned, and* 98 *more ſecluded, as in the Catalogue printed after the Vindication of the ſecluded Members*, Jan. 24, 1648.

There is a Reverend and Learned Divine yet living (a Doctor in Divinity, and one that has now good Preferment in the Church of *England*) that was an Eye and Ear-Witneſs of the ſad Tranſactions againſt the King; He lately affirmed before ſeveral Perſons, that *Oliver* complained to him, That he and the Council of Officers could not go on currantly in their Deſigns againſt the King's Life, by reaſon of the Oppoſitions of the Presbyterian Miniſters: and that he (the ſaid Doctor) was at one of the Meetings of the Officers, where ſeveral Miniſters

ſters appeared to dehort them from that black Deſign; Mr. *Calamy* told them, They were proſecuting the Jeſuits Work; Mr. *Marſhal* ſaid, They were about that, that would be a Blot to the Proteſtant Religion; Mr. *Whitaker* ſtood up to ſpeak, but the very Thoughts of the King's Death, which the Officers were then contriving, melted him into ſuch abundance of Tears, that he was not able to ſpeak a word.

And therefore for the Love and Honour of our Common Faith, I cannot but grieve, that the Presbyterians are charged with being in the Contrivance, both from Preſs and Pulpit. Had but one of them done as much, as we are credibly told *Sarabras* the Queen's Confeſſor did, it had been as good Logick as to ſay, *Ex uno diſce omnes.* If they mean (they that thus malitiouſly as well as ignorantly charge them) that they that had a hand in the Beginning of the War, were guilty, as remote cauſes, of that deteſtable Fact; then ſome of all ſides were acceſſary.

But (to lay the Saddle on the right Horſe) the Jeſuits, aſſiſted by a Faction in the Army, contrived, carried on, and executed this horrid Villany, as Dr. *Peter du Moulin*, now *Canon of Chriſt-Church*, does offer to juſtify, whenever Authority ſhall require it. I ſhall here, for the Reader's ſatisfaction, ſet down the Doctor's own Relation, in his Book called, *A Vindication of the Sincerity of the Proteſtant Religion*, pag. 58, 59, &c.

'—— The Jeſuits profeſſed themſelves Independent, as not depending on the Church of *England*, and Fifth-Monarchy Men, that they 'might pull down the Engliſh Monarchy, and that in the Committees, 'for the Deſtruction of the King and the Church, they had their Spies 'and their Agents. The Roman Prieſt and Confeſſor is known, who 'when he ſaw the Fatal Stroke given to our holy King and Martyr, flouriſhed with his Sword, and ſaid, *Now the greateſt Enemy that we have 'in the World is gone.*

'When the News of that horrible Execution came to *Roan*, a Proteſtant Gentleman of good Credit was preſent in a great Company of 'Jeſuited Perſons, where, after great expreſſions of Joy, the Graveſt 'of the Company ſpake much after this ſort, *The King of* England *at 'his Marriage had promiſed us the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Catholick Religion 'in* England; *and when he delayed to fulfil his Promiſe, we ſummoned him 'from time to time to perform it: we came ſo far as to tell him, That if he 'would not do it, we ſhould be forced to take thoſe courſes, which would bring 'him to his Deſtruction: we have given him lawful Warning, and when no 'Warning would ſerve, we have kept our Word to him, ſince he would not keep 'his Word to us.*

'That

'That grave Rabby's Sentence agreeth with this certain Intelligence: 'That the Year before the King's Death, a ſelect number of Engliſh 'Jeſuits were ſent from their whole Party in *England*, firſt to *Paris*, to 'conſult with the Faculty of *Sorbon*, then altogether Jeſuited, to whom 'they put this Queſtion in Writing, That ſeeing the State of *England* 'was in a likely poſture to change Government; Whether it was not 'lawful for the Catholicks to work that Change, for the advancing and 'ſecuring of the Catholick Cauſe in *England*, by *making away the King*, 'whom there was no hope to turn from his Hereſy? Which was an-'ſwered affirmatively. After which the ſame Perſons went to *Rome*, 'where the ſame Queſtion being propounded and debated, it was con-'cluded by the Pope and his Council, *That it was both lawful and expe-'dient for the Catholicks to promote that Alteration of State.* In purſuance 'of this Order from *Rome* many Jeſuits came over, who took ſeveral 'ſhapes to go about their Work, but moſt of them took Party in the 'Army. About 30 of them, or their Diſciples, were met by a Prote-'ſtant Gentleman between *Roan* and *Diepe*, to whom they ſaid (taking 'him for one of their own Party) that they were going into *England*, 'and would take Arms in the Independent Army, and endeavour to 'be Agitators, *&c.* p. 65, 66. And when the horrible Parricide, 'committed on the King's ſacred Perſon, was ſo univerſally cried down 'as the greateſt Villany that had been committed in many Ages, the 'Pope commanded the Papers about that Queſtion to be gathered and 'burnt: In Obedience to which Order a Roman Catholick in *Paris* 'was demanded a Copy which he had of theſe Papers; but the Gentle-'man who had time to conſider and deteſt the Wickedneſs of that Pro-'ject, refuſed to give it, and ſhewed it to a Proteſtant Friend of his; 'and related to him the whole carriage of this Negotiation, with great 'abhorrency of the Practices of the Jeſuits.

When this Relation was firſt ſeen by the Queen-Mother and the reſt at *Sommerſet-houſe* (where a Man of great Note was concerned) it ſtruck ſuch a terrour among them, that they caſt themſelves at the King's Feet to crave Juſtice againſt Dr. *Du Moulin*, —— but upon ſoberer Thoughts, after three or four days, the great Clamour was ſuddenly huſht, only they won the Queen-Mother to beſeech the King that he might be forbidden to make any more Books: and ſo much was expreſſed unto him in a Letter from Secretary *Morris*, that he ſhould not write Books in *Engliſh*, becauſe it was not his natural Language, tho he underſtands, writes and ſpeakes *Engliſh* as well as moſt Engliſh-men.

The ſaid Mr. *Secretary Morris* in a Letter to the ſaid Dr. *Du-Moulin*, (*p.* 64.) thus expreſſes himſelf,—— 'This I may ſafely, and will, and

'do it confidently, that many Arguments did create a violent ſuſpicion, 'very near convincing Evidences, that the Irreligion of the Papiſts 'was chiefly guilty of the Murder of that Excellent Prince, the *Odium* 'whereof they would now file to the account of the Proteſtant Religi- 'on. He ſays further, *Page* 61, 'As for my being defied by the Papiſts, 'I have defied them now ſeventeen Years to call me in queſtion before 'our Judges, and I do ſtill, *&c.* Nor is he ſingular in a matter of this Moment, but we have the Teſtimonies of Mr. *Pryn*, &c. *Nar.* p. 46.

Mr. *Pryn* ſaith, 'That our late Excellent King having aſſerted in the 'Treaty of the *Iſle* of *Wight* to paſs five ſtrict Bills againſt Popery; the 'Jeſuits in *France*, at a General Meeting there, preſently reſolved to 'bring him to Juſtice, and take off his Head, by the Power of their 'Friends in the Army, as the King himſelf was certified by an expreſs 'from thence, and wiſhed to provide againſt it, but two days before 'his removal by the Army from the *Iſle* of *Wight* to his Execution.

Dr. *Burnet* in his Sermon *Jan.* 30. 168$\frac{1}{2}$, *Pag.* 16, 17. ſays, 'Many 'of the moſt conſiderable Diſſenters did even then, when it was not ſo 'ſafe to do it as it is now, openly declare againſt it both in their Sermons 'and Writings, and were highly inſtrumental in bringing home of his 'Majeſty: —— If ſome few have juſtified the ſhedding of this Blood; 'as their number hath been but inconſiderable, ſo their Maxims have 'been borrowed chiefly from Popiſh Writers. See alſo *Pag.* 13.

Mr. *Cave* in his Sermon *Jan.* 30. 1679. *Pag.* 5. ſays, 'We know now 'too well whence the Doctrines come of rebelling againſt, and depoſing, 'and murdering of Kings; we know the Plot of this day's bloody Tra- 'gedy was laid at *Rome*, and acted by the Sects of their making among 'our ſelves.

I will fill up theſe Pages with ſome Royal Condeſcenſions, and Epiſcopal Pleas, (beſides thoſe mentioned before) which I humbly entreat thoſe in Authority, eſpecially my Lords the Biſhops, ſeriouſly to conſider, in behalf of the *Non-conformiſts*, which may be found in his Majeſty's Speeches and Declaration about Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, and ſome of the Biſhops own writings. And firſt obſerve what his preſent Majeſty ſays concerning the *Non-conformiſts*, &c.

In his Declaration of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, *Octob.* 25, 1660. 'When 'We were in *Holland*, (ſays he) We were attended by many Grave and 'Learned Miniſters from hence, who were looked upon as moſt able and 'principal Aſſertors of the Presbyterian Opinion, with whom We had 'as much Conference, as the multitude of Affairs which were then 'upon Us, would permit Us to have; and, to Our great Satisfaction and 'Comfort, found them Perſons full of Affection to Us, of Zeal for the

'Peace

'Peace of the Church and State, and neither Enemies (as they have 'been given out to be) to Episcopacy or Liturgy, but mostly to de- 'sire such Alterations in either, as without shaking Foundations, might 'allay the present Distempers, which the Indisposition of the Time, 'and Tenderness of some Mens Consciences, had contracted. See more quoted in the *Third Plea.*

And in his Speech to both Houses of Parliament, *Feb.* 10. 1667, saith He,—— 'One thing more I hold my self obliged to recommend unto 'you at this present; which is, That you would seriously think of some 'course to beget a better Union and Composure in the minds of my 'Protestant Subjects, in Matters of Religion; whereby they may be in- 'duced, not only to submit quietly to the Government, but also chear- 'fully give their assistance to the support of it.

Some Bishops (and other Eminent Divines of the Church of *England*) formerly, and of late, have most pathetically pleaded the Case of the *Non-conformists*, whose Apostolical Zeal and Charity are worthy the Consideration and Imitation of the present Bishops and Fathers of our Church at this Time especially. A former Bishop of St. *Davids*, (Dr. *Rudde*) in the Convocation-House, *May* 23. 1604.——speaking of those who were scrupulous only upon some Ceremonies, *&c.* 'Being 'otherwise Learned, studious, grave, and honest Men, whose Labours 'have been painful in the Church, and profitable to their several Con- 'gregations, (he says) tho I do not justify their Doings, yet surely 'their Service would be missed at such a Time, as need shall require 'them and us to give the right-hand of Fellowship one to another, 'and to go Arm in Arm against the common Adversary, that so there 'might be *Vis unita fortior.*—— If these our Brethren aforesaid should 'be deprived of their Places, for the Matters premised, I think we 'should find cause to bend our Wits to the uttermost extent of our 'skill, to provide some Cure of Souls for them, where they may exer- 'cise their Talents.—— Further, if these Men, being divers hundreds, '(as it is bruited abroad) should forsake their Charges, (as some do 'presuppose they will) who, I pray you, should succeed them?—— 'Besides this, for so much as in the Life-time of the late Arch-bishop 'of *Canterbury*, these things were not so extreamly urged, but that 'many Learned Preachers enjoyed their Liberty herein, conditionally 'that they did not by Word or Deed openly disgrace or disturb the 'State established; I would know a Reason, why it should not be so 'generally and exceeding strictly called upon, especially considering 'these Men are now the more necessary, by so much as we see greater 'encrease of Papists to be now of late, than were before. To conclude,

'I wiſh, that if by Petition made to the King's Majeſty, there cannot be 'obtained a Quite Remove of the Premiſes, which ſeem ſo grievous to 'divers, nor yet a Toleration for them which be of the more ſtaid and 'temperate carriage, yet at the leaſt, there might be procured a Mi-'tigation of the Penalty, if they cannot be drawn by other Reaſons to 'a Conformity with us. Thus far this Biſhop in thoſe days, when the Terms of Conformity were not ſo hard.

Dr. *Taylor*, late Biſhop of *Down* and *Connar* (whoſe Writings are in great Eſteem, even with thoſe that are moſt zealous for Ceremonies) hath ſeveral Paſſages in his *Caſes of Conſcience*, that ſeem to favour and juſtify ſome of the *Non-conformiſts* Principles, *viz. Pag.* 303. 'Eccleſi-'aſtical Laws are made relative to Time and Place, to Perſons and Oc-'caſions, *ſubject to all Changes*, fitted for uſe and the Advantage of the 'Churches, miniſtring to Edification, and complying with Charity: 'Whatſoever Eccleſiaſtical Law hath not theſe Conditions, *the Churches 'ought not to receive*, becauſe they are Impediments, not Advantages to 'the Service of God: if they be thus qualified, no good Man will refuſe 'them; if they be not, they are *Laws of Tyrants*, not of Spiritual Fathers. *Rule* 20. *pag.* 323. 'Eccleſiaſtical Laws muſt ever promote the *Service 'of God and the Good of Souls*, but muſt never put a Snare or Stumbling-'block to Conſciences,—— The Authority which the Lord hath given, 'is for *Edification and not for Deſtruction*, 2 Cor. 10. 8. & 13. 10. *Pag.* 314. 'Ceremonies oblige no longer than they miniſter to the end of Charity. 'And *Pag.* 325, —— Tho ſignificant Ceremonies can be for Edification 'to the Church in ſome Degree, and in ſome Perſons, yet it's to be 'conſidered whether the introducing of ſuch things, doth not deſtroy 'the Church, not only in her *Chriſtian Liberty*, but in the *Simplicity*, 'and *Purity*, and *Spirituality* of her Religion, by inſenſible changing it 'into *Ceremonial and External Service.* ibid——. A Symbolical Rite of 'humane Invention, to ſignify what it does not effect, and then intro-'duced into the *ſolemn Service of God*, is ſo like thoſe vain Imaginations 'and Repreſentations forbidden in the ſecond Commandment, that 'the very *Suſpicion* is more againſt *Edification*, than their Uſe can 'pretend to.

A *Conformiſt* of great Note told a Captain under his Majeſty, that he was glad ſo many Miniſters refuſed to conform; the Captain would know his Reaſon, he gives it thus: *Had all Miniſters conformed, People would have thought there was nothing in Religion; only a thing to talk of in the Pulpit, and ſerve a State-deſign, for theſe Miniſters will turn any way the State turns: but by their giving up their Livings, and expoſing Them-ſelves and Families to outward Evils, rather than they would conform to things*

things imposed not agreeable (as they apprehend) *to the Gospel they preached, they have convinced Men there is a reality in Religion, and given a Check to Atheism.*

Mr. *Jeans*, a great School-man and Conformist in former Times, who censured the *Non-conformists* as sharply as any, and wrote against them, while he had read but one side, as he saith, (*Scholast. and pract. Divin. Pt. 2d* p. 93,94.) and was a Stranger to what the *Non-conformists* could say for themselves, their Adversaries representing their Objections and Answers so weak, and ridiculous (as too many among us do now) hath left upon Record these Words, *viz.* When the Parliament began, he intended to write a full Vindication of the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, to which end he read all such *Non-conforminsts* Books as he could procure; upon the Perusal of them, says he, 'I soon found their Adversaries most disingenuously misrepre-'sented all that they said; and that they refused to joyn Issue with 'them in the State of the Question; that they came not up to an ordi-'nary Grapple with them with their Arguments; and that they seldom 'regularly replyed unto the Solutions which were given to their Ob-'jections; and this (says he) quickly produced an Alteration in my 'Judgment, and I believe it will do so too in all that will make such an 'impartial Search into the matter as I have done.

This is the ingenuous Confession of that Learned Man, making excuse for what he had written against the *Non-conformists*.

The present Lord Bishop of *Hereford*, in his *Naked Truth*, with hearty Compassion and Zeal, pleads the Case of our present *Non-conformists*, both with the (then) two Houses of Parliament, and the Bishops in particular.—First, In his Address to the Lords and Commons in general, he thus expresses himself: 'My Lords and Noble Gentle-'men, you have fully expressed your Zeal to God and his Church, in 'making Laws for Unity, *&c.* I call God, the Searcher of all Hearts, 'the God of Life and Death, to witness, That I would most readily, 'yea, most joyfully Sacrifice all I have in this World, my Life and All, 'that all *Non-conformists* were reduced to our Church; but it falls out 'most sadly, that your Laws have not the desired effect, our Church is 'more and more divided, *&c.*—— And concludes with earnest Prayers, 'That God would direct them to that which may make for the *Unity* of 'our *Church*, by yielding to weak Ones, *&c.*

And in *Pag.* 10. (Edition in *Folio*) he thus earnestly and seriously Addresses himself to the Bishops; 'My Reverend Fathers and Judges of the 'Church, I (with St. *Paul*, *Col.* 3.) beseech you put on fatherly *bowels* 'of *Mercy*, *Kindness*, *humbleness of Mind*, *Meekness*, *Long-suffering* towards

'your

'your poor weak Children; and ſo long as they hold faſt the Body of 'Chriſt, be not ſo rigorous with them for Shadows; if they ſubmit to 'you in Subſtance, have Patience, tho they do not ſubmit in Ceremo- 'nies: and give me leave to tell you my poor Opinion; This violent 'preſſing of Ceremonies hath (I humbly conceive) been a great hin- 'derance from embracing them, Men fearing your Intentions to be far 'worſe than really they are, and therefore abhor them. ——

And *Pag.* 11. —'This force-urging Uniformity in Worſhip, hath 'cauſed great diviſion in Faith, as well as Charity; for had you, by 'aboliſhing ſome Ceremonies, taken the weak Brethren into your 'Church, they had not wandred about after ſeducing Teachers, nor 'fallen into ſo many groſs Opinions of their own. Now I beſeech you, 'in the fear of God, ſet before your Eyes the dreadful Day of Judg- 'ment, when Chriſt in his Tribunal of Juſtice ſhall require an account 'of every Word and Deed, and ſhall thus queſtion you: Here are ſe- 'veral Souls, who taking offence at *your* Ceremonies, have forſaken 'my Church, have forſaken the Faith, have run into Hell, the Souls 'for which I ſhed my precious Blood; Why have you ſuffered this? 'Nay, why have you occaſioned this? Will you anſwer, It was to pre- 'ſerve *our* Ceremonies? Will not Chriſt return unto you, Are *your* 'Ceremonies more dear unto you than the Souls for which I died? *Who 'hath required theſe things at your hands?* Will you, for Ceremo- 'nies, which you your ſelves confeſs to be indifferent, no way neceſſa- 'ry unto Salvation, ſuffer your weak Brethren to periſh, for whom I 'died? Have not I ſhewed you how *David and his Souldiers were guilt- 'leſs in eating the Shew-bread, which was not lawful but only for the Prieſts 'to eat?* If *David* diſpenſed with a Ceremony commanded by God, to 'ſatisfy the hunger of his People, Will not you diſpence with *your own* 'Ceremonies to ſatisfy the Souls of my People, who are called by my 'Name, and profeſs my Name, tho in weakneſs? Or will you tell 'Chriſt, they ought to ſuffer for their own Wilfulneſs and Perverſe- 'neſs, who will not ſubmit to the Laws of the Church as they ought? 'Will not Chriſt return, Shall they periſh for tranſgreſſing *your* hu- 'mane Laws, which they ignorantly conclude Erroneous, And ſhall 'not you periſh for tranſgreſſing my Divine Laws, which you know to 'be Good and Holy? Had I Mercy on you, and ſhould not you have 'Mercy on your fellow-Servants? With the ſame meaſure you meted, 'it ſhall be meaſured unto you again. I tremble to go farther, but moſt 'humbly beſeech you, for Chriſt's ſake endeavour to regain theſe 'ſtrayed Sheep, for which he ſhed his precious Blood, and think it as 'great an Advantage, as great an Honour to you, as it was to St. *Paul*,

'to

'to become all things to all Men, that you may gain ſome, as doubtleſs 'you will many, tho not all; and the few ſtanders-off will be the more 'convinced, and at long running wearied out and gained alſo.

I cloſe this Biſhop's earneſt Requeſts, with one of the Prayers made by the Biſhops, for the late Faſt on *Decemb.* 22. 1680. appointed by the King's Proclamation, (among other ends) to unite the Hearts of all Loyal Proteſtants, (with which I hope my Lords the Biſhops will joyn their ſincere Endeavours,) *viz.*

For Union among our Selves.

BLeſſed Jeſu, our Saviour, and our Peace; who didſt ſhed thy precious Blood upon the Croſs, that thou might'ſt aboliſh, and deſtroy all Enmity among Men, and reconcile them in one Body unto God: Look down in much Pity and Compaſſion upon this diſtreſſed Church and Nation; whoſe bleeding Wounds, occaſion'd by the lamentable Diviſions that are among us, cry aloud for thy ſpeedy Help, and ſaving Relief. Stir up, we beſeech thee, every Soul of us, carefully (as becomes ſincere Chriſtians) to root out of our Hearts all Pride, and Vain-glory, all Wrath and Bitterneſs, all unjuſt Prejudice and cauſleſs Jealouſy, all Hatred and Malice, and deſire of Revenge, and whatſoever it is, that may any way exaſperate our Minds, or hinder us from diſcerning the things that belong unto our Peace: And by the Power of thy Holy Spirit of Peace, diſpoſe all our Hearts to ſuch meekneſs of Wiſdom, and lowlineſs of Mind, ſuch calm and deliberate Long-ſuffering, and Forbearance of one another in Love, with ſuch due eſteem of thoſe, whom thou haſt ſet over us to watch for our Souls, as may turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and the Hearts of the Children to the Fathers; that ſo we may become a ready People prepared to live in Peace, and the God of Peace may be with us. To this End, give us all Grace, O Lord, ſeriouſly to lay to Heart, not only the great Dangers we are in at preſent by theſe unhappy Diviſions, but alſo the great Obligations to this Godly Union and Concord, which lie upon us: That as there is but one Body, and one Spirit, and one Hope of our Calling; one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm, one God, and Father of all; ſo we may henceforth be all of one Heart, and of one Soul, cloſely united in one holy bond of Truth and Peace, of Faith and Charity; and may with one Mind, and one Mouth glorify thee, O Lord, the Prince of Peace, who with thy bleſſed Father, in the Unity of the Holy Spirit, liveſt, and reigneſt ever one God, World without end. Amen.

FINIS.